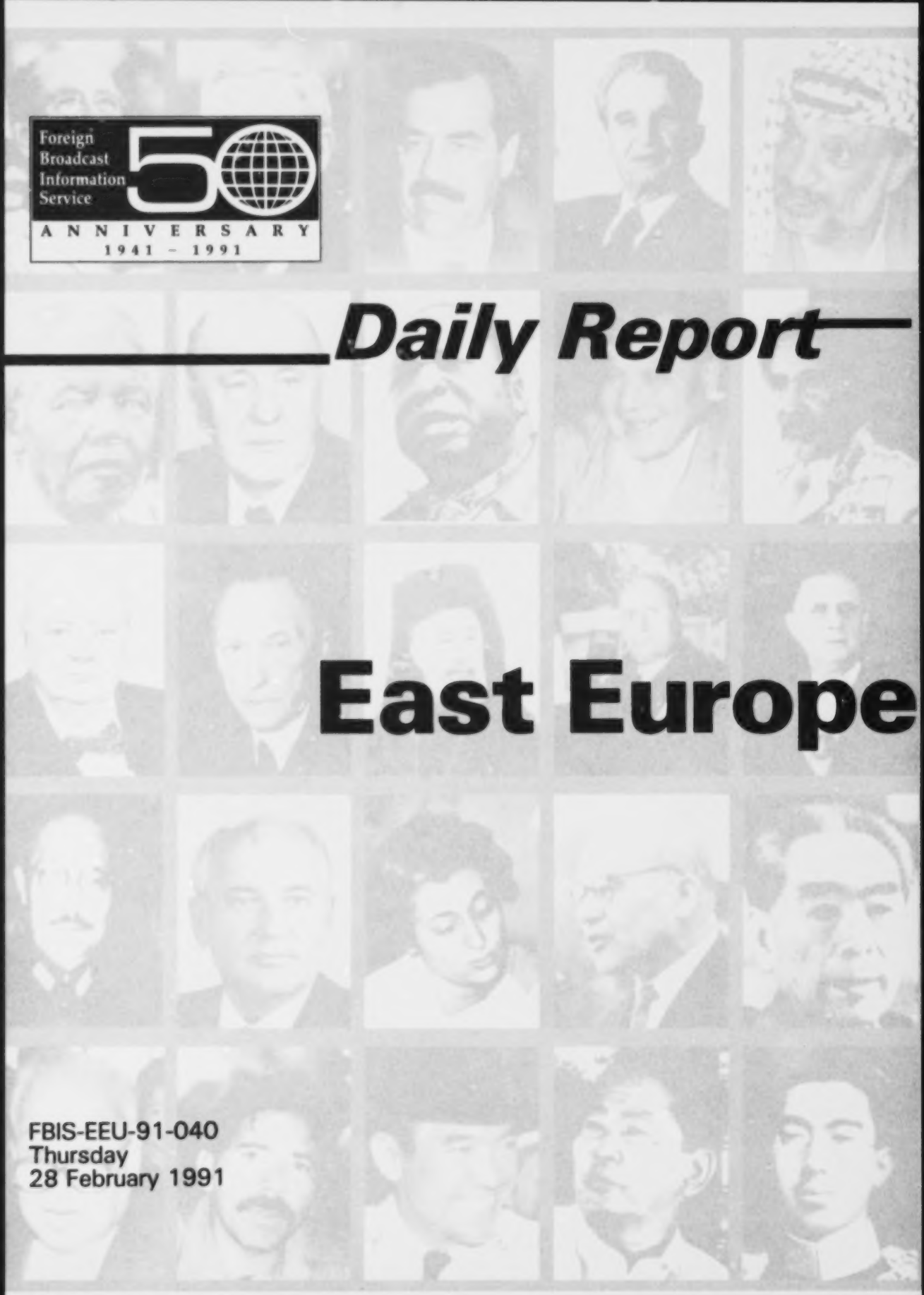

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Documents on Pact Abolition Not To Be Published

AU2702173991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Feb 91 pp 1,4

[Tibor Ferko report from Budapest: "Full Stop Behind Military Organization"]

[Excerpt] Budapest—[passage omitted] Speaking to a group of Czechoslovak journalists before the signing of the historic documents [on the abolition of the Warsaw Pact military bodies and structures in Budapest on 25 February], CSFR Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky said: "The documents will not be published as they contain data pertaining to the defense of individual states. They will be deposited in the archives of the former member states. Our talks here in Budapest confirmed that the experts who had met prior to the meeting worked extremely well. The protocol that they drafted was such that the Warsaw Pact ministers of foreign affairs were able to express their positive stand on the documents confirming the termination of the activity of the Warsaw Pact military structures. There was not a single question that remained unresolved prior to the ministers' meeting."

The Czechoslovak proposal was accepted that another session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states be held in Prague on 1 July at the latest. This meeting should abolish the existence of the Warsaw Pact as a whole with final validity.

Asked by the NARODNA OBRODA reporter whether there was an exact timetable for putting a final stop behind the complex process of the Pact's liquidation, the minister said he does not know whether this could be accomplished by the end of the year but that this is what all of us wish. He personally hopes that it is a realistic deadline. [passage omitted]

Akhromeyev on Warsaw Pact, NATO Future

AU2702112291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Feb 91 p 1

[Interview with Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, former chief of staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, by Csaba Poor; place and date not given: "Would NATO Also Be Dissolved?"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] According to Sergey Akhromeyev, one of Gorbachev's personal advisers, the decision to dismantle the military organization of the Warsaw Pact was correct. "Both as a private person and as a professional soldier, I am sorry for the Warsaw Pact, but as a person who understands today's politics, I regard this step as realistic. The situation in Europe is changing and the military alliances should be eliminated; thus, in my opinion, the member countries made a rational decision"—Sergey Akhromeyev said in a short interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP.

[Poor] How do you foresee the future cooperation of the former member states of the Warsaw Pact?

[Akhromeyev] One can no longer give a clear answer to this question. Their future cooperation depends on the individual states and the Soviet Union. From now on, we can only talk of bilateral relations, for example between the Soviet Union and Poland, or the Soviet Union and Hungary. The respective governments will have to decide on this cooperation.

[Poor] The presidential spokesman mentioned recently that Moscow was expecting similar measures from NATO. What measures do you expect?

[Akhromeyev] Logic dictates that the NATO military organization should also be dismantled.

[Poor] This could be the highest expectation, but what is the minimum that you regard as acceptable?

[Akhromeyev] Gradual progress toward solving this problem, namely toward disassembling the military integration. I think that life will force us to do this sooner or later. It is hard to dissociate oneself from objective realities. People will realize that there is simply no need for military blocs.

Many Communists Reportedly Leaving PPSh

AU2702145891 Paris AFP in English 1438 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 27 (AFP)—Many Albanian communists are leaving the party, a local journalist contacted in Tirana by telephone said Wednesday.

"Many party members, particularly intellectuals, have handed in their membership cards recently. For example, most of the teachers at the Tirana medical faculty have said they are leaving the party", the journalist said. He cited notably the case of Lisen Bashkurti, leader of the Labour (communist) youth until he announced his resignation Wednesday in the opposition newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE.

The process began last December after the authorities cleared the way for the creation of opposition parties and the creation of the Democratic Party. It speeded up last week after President Ramiz Alia showed he was still loyal to Enver Hoxha, the hardline communist leader who died in 1985.

Around 100 people were arrested over the weekend during clashes between pro and anti-Hoxha groups. On February 20 a massive statue of Enver Hoxha in Tirana's main Skenderbeg Square was pulled down by a crowd of 100,000 pro-democracy supporters. About 60 people were released Wednesday, and the remainder were to appear soon before a military tribunal, the journalist said.

Gunshots could be heard every night in Tirana where the atmosphere remained tense, he added. "Soldiers are shooting and that contributes to the tension". A spokesman for the Human Rights Forum, Besnik Mustafaj, said that security patrols at night were carrying out identity checks and that people taken in for questioning were being subjected to violence.

Alia Says Democratization 'Irreversible'

AU2702204491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia received today at the Palace of Congresses representatives of the people of the districts of Gramsh, Librazhd, Durres, Kruje, Lezhe, Mat, Diber, Kukes, Mirdite, and Permet, and conducted conversations with them in connection with the recent course of events in the country, especially those of 20 February. He also conducted similar conversations this afternoon with representatives of the people of the districts of Puke, Shkoder, Elbasan, Tirana, Korce, Kolonje, and Pogradec. Xhelil Gjoni, Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] Central Committee secretary, and Haxhi Lleshi, member of the Presidential Council, were also present at these meetings.

From the start of their meeting with Comrade Ramiz Alia, the representatives of the people, who had come from the overwhelming majority of the country's districts, expressed to him the entire people's powerful support for continuing without interruption the process of the democratization of life in Albania, continuing to affirm the PPSh as a political force that enjoys and will always enjoy the trust of the masses and the comprehensive support of workers, cooperativists, veterans, young people, intellectuals, and honest and patriotic people. In the name of the people whom they represented, speakers at this meeting conveyed their boundless concern and legitimate indignation at the acts committed recently, in which people went so far as to lay hands on and topple the monument to the immortal Enver Hoxha, the unforgettable leader of our people, thus committing a very serious assassination attempt against the feelings and will of the people and against democratizing processes in the country.

At the meeting, they stressed the need to strengthen communists' close and unbreakable ties with the people, that they may genuinely and tangibly fulfill their militant role. This process, the speakers emphasized, must be carried out at once, because it is to the benefit of the party and the indisputable authority and prestige that the party enjoys among the people, and is in the interests of the people and the masses and the defense of the homeland and its freedom and independence. Communists are genuine and honest democrats. They want democratic processes in Albania, and are working and struggling to further deepen them. Those internal or external elements or forces seriously err in attempting to label communists as restraining or conservative forces. The PPSh is a party of progress. The achievements of the country so far have proved this, just as the party's electoral program, which has been made known to the entire people, expresses its determination to apply all the inexhaustible energies of the people to strengthening political and economic stability and public order and deepening our national culture. On this road, they said, we defend and exalt the figure of Enver Hoxha. Whoever works, makes mistakes [Albanian proverb], but mistakes have never jeopardized the aspirations and lofty interests of the people. With unswerving resolution, all those present in this frank and open discussion promised, in the names of their villages, enterprises, and regions, that they will work day and night until the free and democratic elections of 31 March to crown the electoral campaign with success, and will give their votes to the candidates of the PPSh. They made valuable suggestions for improving the party's work from its basic organizations to the leadership. Those present made valuable comments and suggestions about further improving the work of state services, both in the districts and centrally, and the work of the justice and internal affairs services. They also stressed the need for young people and our people's intelligentsia, at these historic times through which the people and country are passing, to rise to the mission that belongs to them, in the service of Albania's future. In labor and struggle to defend the country and make it prosperous, our national unity will be further strengthened.

Speaking at the meeting, Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed his pleasure at the warm conversation that took place and at the determination and patriotic spirit of the people who had sent their representatives here from the country's districts. At such meetings, he said among other things, we help each other and give each other strength and encouragement. We learn from each other how to defend together the great cause of the PPSh, the people, and the immortal achievement of Comrade Enver Hoxha. He later focused on the situation in the country and abroad and on the aims of the internal and external enemies that are fighting to destroy the people's power and the PPSh. In these situations, Comrade Ramiz pointed out, we must strengthen still further the unity of the people and the unity of the party, radically improving its work, standing by people as much as possible, and explaining to them calmly and logically the problems and difficulties we face. In solving them, we must put logic above emotions. There are some voices in the world alleging that Albania is abandoning the road of democratization, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued. He reemphasized that the process of democratizing the country's life is now irreversible, and that it will always advance. When we talk about pluralism, it is natural that we should have different parties and political organizations, and people with different ideas and ideological convictions. This is a good thing, because it creates conditions for the free expression of opinion; however, all political forces must work to serve the homeland, and the political struggle must be honest. The people will know how to distinguish honest and patriotic people, those who genuinely wish Albania well.

Comrade Ramiz Alia then spoke about the greater dedication of people in towns and the countryside toward work, to increase production in every sector, and the more responsible commitment of the intelligentsia to solving the problems which concern the country at present, so their voices may be (?clearer) in all fields of life. He especially stressed the greater role of teachers of the younger generation, in raising young people who will be as healthy and pure as possible, with wide knowledge and culture.

In conclusion, he said that we should preserve and further strengthen the people's unity, the legacy of Enver Hoxha, who worked greatly for it, because only in this way will we carry out successfully the free and pluralist elections of 31 March, when the people will vote for their most dedicated sons and daughters. Comrade Ramiz Alia assured those present that all the problems that were raised at this meeting, as well as those raised in the various letters, telegrams, and petitions sent directly by the people, will be at the center of the attention and work of the PPSh and the state services, and will be solved at the proper time.

Democratic Party Leader Calls For EC Help

AU2702133791 Paris AFP in English 1304 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Brussels, Feb 27 (AFP) — A leader of Albania's main opposition party appealed here Wednesday [27 February] for European Community (EC) pressure on his country to encourage a peaceful transition towards democracy.

Eduard Selami, secretary of the Albanian Democratic Party, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that the EC should apply its "moral authority" on the Albanian authorities to make sure that elections due for March 31 were genuinely free. Mr. Selami had addressed the European Parliament earlier in the day. On Tuesday, several senior Albanian Government officials met officials of the EC's executive commission to outline current reform efforts.

Albania, which is emerging from decades of communist dictatorship and isolation from the rest of Europe, is the only country in the continent to have no diplomatic links or trade accords with the EC.

Mr. Selami said his party aimed at Albania's total integration in Europe, and eventual membership of the community. He accused the Albanian authorities of "provocation" in repressing recent opposition demonstrations.

Last week the European Parliament called on the EC to establish official links with Albania in order to encourage the reform process, but Mr. Selami said this would help the government to cling to power.

Shkoder Republican Party Holds Conference

AU2702212691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] The Shkoder branch of the Republican Party [PRSh] held its first conference yesterday in the Punetori Cinema, with the participation of its members and supporters. The economist Spiro Nito, branch chairman, spoke in the name of the branch's initiating commission and concentrated on the party's policies and program, now familiar and published in the party's newspaper, REPUBLIKA.

The engineer (?Sefedin Numani) spoke on economic problems and on ways to develop the economy on the basis of the PRSh's program. PRSh Chairman Sabri Godo then took the floor. After praising the patriotic traditions and democratic spirit of the people of Shkoder and the contribution of distinguished sons of Shkoder to creating the first Albanian republic alongside Fan Noli, he replied to many questions of those present, focusing on the complicated and tense problems of the day, which are so decisive and critical for the destiny of the nation. Talking about the democratic processes through which our country is passing, he stressed the need for sincere dialogue, prudence, and dialogue, pointing out that genuine democracy excludes anyone imposing his views. We know this well, he said, from the suggestion we made and the help we gave to creating the Presidential Council and the new government. On the basis of the party's program, it is the party's policy to support everything connected to the best and most reasonable solutions. Our

country must achieve free and pluralist elections, if we want the help of Europe. Without them, Europe will leave us to our fate. Dwelling on economic problems and their solution, he said that we favor agreements with foreign countries, but on the basis of partnership. Our difficulties should not impose on us agreements that involve selling our resources, because they belong to the people. As for the countryside, he pointed out that the best thing would be to give the land to those who work on it, and not allow it to be bought or sold, except for the sake of projects for the greater good of society.

Ecology Party Calls For 'Prudence, Cool Heads'

AU2702213091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Statement by the Ecology Party; place and date not given]

[Text] The Ecology Party is a party of unity and national conciliation, in which all classes, parties, and religions live in harmony and understandings. Our party considers our homeland of Albania to be a temple. Parties are paths leading to the altar. We are against intellectual, mental, physical, and political violence. We are against rallies, street demonstrations, and strikes, because we think they lead to confrontation and excesses. The Ecology Party calls on the people to follow the events of recent days with prudence, cool heads, and wisdom, until the free, democratic, and multiparty elections of 31 March.

Council of Ministers Discusses Investment, Trade

AU2702213891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] The Council of Ministers met today, 27 February 1991. At this meeting, the government gave further consideration the measures to be taken in March until the appointment of the new government by the future People's Assembly. The program of the Council of Ministers for this period, to be announced in the next few days, includes a range of measures aiming to improve supplies to the people through a review of investments, a ban on food exports, the guarantee of supplies from imports and domestic resources, and the cutting of administrative expenditure.

The Council of Ministers also approved the agreement on the exchange of goods with Yugoslavia for 1991-1995 and the agreement on changes and additions to the agreement on the exchange of goods in border areas with Yugoslavia, signed in Belgrade in 21 December 1990. It also approved the agreement on merchant shipping with Greece signed in Tirana on 13 January 1991, and the decree on citizens' use of motor cars, motorcycles, vans, and motor-tricycles. According to this decree, state enterprises under the Ministry of Transportation possessing passenger motor vehicles are allowed to sell them to their drivers for private use in the service of the people. Enterprises and institutions are also allowed to sell cars, motorcycles, and spare parts to citizens through the spare parts retail outlets.

The foreign minister informed the Council of Ministers about our state's forthcoming foreign policy activities, such as the visits in March of Guido de Marco, chairman of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly; Flaminio Piccoli, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Italian Senate; representatives of the IMF, [passage indistinct].

* Opposition Paper's Solution to Economic Crisis

91P20230A Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 9 Jan 91 p 2

[Mitro Cela article: "How We Can Emerge from the Economic Crisis—Self-Interview without Self-Censorship"; first paragraph is RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE introduction]

[Excerpts] Two months ago, BASHKIMI published an article entitled "Self-Interview." Despite the new ideas which it presented on economic issues, it was only the visible part of the iceberg. The other part was under the "surface" of self-censorship. Pluralism and the democratic responsibility, which this paper has assumed, have obliged me to perform an operation on the article.

[Question] Is the economy in crisis?

[Answer] At the end of the century, the economic crisis is on the agenda for many countries in the world. [passage omitted] As for Albania, the real situation is not being properly presented and explained. Before the 12th Plenum of the AWP [Albanian Workers' Party] Central Committee anyone who said the words "economic crisis" in the press was proclaimed a heretic. But the crisis is present everywhere. It is seen in the unemployment—even though there are no official statistics; it is seen in the inflation—even though the bureaucrats try to ignore it, like an ostrich hiding its head in the sand. The lack of essential food products and the irregular supplies of heating oil and firewood testify to the crisis, as do the decrease in the rate of industrial development, the drop in productivity, and the reduction of investments for the people.

The crisis is of a special type: "Made in Albania" [in English—FBIS]. The economy has undergone many ideological experiments: the prohibition, in the Constitution, of the acceptance of economic credits and assistance; the proclamation of the principle of self-reliance; the establishment of small herds, resulting in the paradoxical situation of the supplying of villages with eggs from hen farms in the cities. We prepared the crisis with our own hands because economic laws vere replaced by administrative orders; because we propagandized democratic centralism and implemented bureaucratic centralism; because for years we have been bogged down in a planning methodology borrowed from the Soviets

[Question] How can we get out of the crisis?

[Answer] [passage omitted] To emerge from the economic crisis and the difficult situation in supplying the people, Albania needs aid and credits from the West. In order to receive this assistance, the country must be accepted into the CSCE. To be accepted into the CSCE, Albania must accept and implement, one by one, article by article, all the obligations assigned by the documents of the meetings of the CSCE. But let us cite something from the document of the Copenhagen meeting dealing with human rights. In Point 5-4, there is a clear distinction between the state and the political parties; political parties will not be one with the state. If this clause is not implemented, our country will not be accepted into the CSCE. Albania will not be given the necessary assistance and credits to emerge from the crisis. Conclusion: will the fate of the economy remain dependent, as it has been for 45 years, on the principle of reliance on our own forces?

[Question] There are three models of economic development in the world: the Anglo-Saxon model (free trade), the Japanese model (marketing), the planned economy. What model would be most appropriate for the economy of our country?

[Answer] The planned economy has failed in all the Eastern European countries. There is no need to analyze it since it is an anachronistic model. The Japanese model is suitable only for Japan. The Japanese economic empire cannot be replicated in any other country. The only one left is the the market economy. Many experts call the Anglo-Saxon model universal. But can the Albanian economy, built on ideological principles, be put into the market economy? This would be a paradox! Without true political pluralism, without the actual separation of the party from the state, without free elections, without the implementation of all obligations involved in the CSCE process (which will ensure foreign aid and credits), it will be market anarchy not a market economy which will be playing on the stage of the Albanian economy. The Bulgarian economy is experiencing this today. [passage omitted]

Derivatives of the Anglo-Saxon model appear in the Swedish economy and in the Italian economy. The French experience shows the attention given to building ties between the plan and the market economy. It has evolved from the command plan, to the indicator plan, to the strategic plan.

[Question] Can emigration serve as a "lifeboat" for the Albanian economy?

[Answer] In the history of economic development in the world, emigration has had its role. In states such as Yugoslavia and Pakistan, emigration helps economic progress. There are about 20 million emigres in the world. This is a drop of water in the ocean of world population. [passage omitted]

Emigres have been a social scourge for the Common Market countries. Under the circumstances in which world emigration has stabilized and the emigres have become the "booty" of the countries with traditions, economically, emigration will not serve as a "lifeboat" according to some economists.

Things are differtent in the social area. The creation of joint enterprises and technology transfers prevent the massive emigration of workers but demands for certain services (drivers, nurses, kitchen help, etc.) continue to keep emigration "alive." Therefore, it is anachronistic to promise to open up agencies for the emigrees while still using the ideological slogan that "we must not allow our workers to emigrate because they are exploited by the capitalists!"

[Question] What resources does our country have?

[Answer] Many people think that the "wealth" is underground. Chrome is mentioned. Only 50-60 million dollars has been obtained from the export of chrome and ferrochrome. Others mention electricity. However, the prolonged drought has turned Albania into an importer of electricity. We do not want to underestimate the importance of minerals and other raw materials for the economy of the country. But we are calling for the renovation of technology and the creation of joint enterprises since the importance of these rav materials is decreasing. There are three resources which have not been sufficiently utilized up to now: the work force, the favorable location of the country, and the climate. [passage omitted]

Why do European firms invest in distant countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and China, when it would be more profitable to invest in Albania, which is in the heart of Europe? Up until now, the Constitution prohibited the establishment of these joint enterprises. Now that decrees have been passed which permit the acceptance of credits and the creation of joint enterprises, the process is moving very slowly because the experts do not know the rules of the "game." Some five months after the issuance of the respective decree, the number of joint enterprises can be counted on your fingers: a Swiss bank, a shoe factory in Shkoder, a few clothing factories, units for the sale of industrial articles, etc.

Reform-minded people cannot waste time making studies and doing experiments. World experience in the creation of joint enterprises is very rich. The creation of joint enterprises is preceded by requests for Western credits. (This is based on the acceptance of Albania in the CSCE.) Second, as long as the countries of the peoples' democracies existed in Eastern Europe, the cooperation of a state enterprise (in Eastern Europe) with a Western private enterprise was the instrument for economic cooperation. However, with the political changes in the Eastern European countries, cooperation between private enterprises is taking priority. Not only Western firms and enterprises but also recently-established institutions, such as the European Bank, located in Prague, which provides credits for privatization of Eastern European enterprises, are interested in

this form of cooperation. This form of cooperation cannot be denied by the West just because of the situation of the Albanian economy.

The times demand the acceleration of the privatization of the economy, beginning with trade, communal services, and tourism. The organs of the government and the economy have the responsibility to work for the implementation of the decrees issued. So far, not a single artisan cooperative has been opened! There is no excuse for foot-dragging in the privatization of restaurants, hotels, communal services, taxi services, etc. The second step, which is just as important, is the creation of small and very small enterprises. World experience recommends enterprises with 15-60 workers. These are more easily maneuvered, need less capital, can compete better on the market, and can be associated more easily with foreign enterprises. "Gigantomania," represented by combines and enterprises where thousands of workers work, is a serious obstacle to the creation of joint enterprises. Many experts from UN organs who have come to Albania and have given lectures and talked with Albanian specialists suggest the creation of these small enteprises which can be easily privatized in the near future. Ironically, these lectures and discussions have not been published in the press so that the specialists and workers could learn about the market economy. They have been locked in the drawers of the bureaucracy, under the label: "Top Secret!"

Association of Montenegrins Formed in Shkoder

LD2702154291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1246 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—An association of the Montenegrin national minority was recently formed in Vraka, near the town of Shkoder in Albania.

The association has over 1,000 members, but there are some 2,500 Albanians, members of the Montenegrin national minority, living in the area around the town of Shkoder. The minority is not recognized by the Albanian authorities.

The association was formed with the aim to cherish the culture and customs of their ancestors. It will urge the recognition of the Montenegrin and Serbian minorities and the return of real names to members of these minorities which have been [word indistinct].

The association plans to re-open elementary schools in the mother language and form a Montenegrin-Serbian cultural club.

Cooperation Plan Signed With Greek Armed Forces

AU2802123491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Feb 91 p 2

[Text] Radnyu Minchev, first deputy minister of defense and commander in chief of the General Staff, and Ioannis Verivakis, commander of the General Staff of the Greek Armed Forces, signed a cooperation plan.

It envisages exchanges of delegations at various levels, working meetings to discuss issues of mutual interest, and exchanges of positive experience between various army units, including exchanges of military schools' cadets. Moreover, it calls for meetings among experts from the two General Staffs on working out a safe mechanism for increasing the visibility of military activity regarding implementation of the Paris agreements on strengthening confidence between the two countries.

Turkish General on Balkan Security, Relations

AU2802124391 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 22 Feb 91 p 3

[Interview with Mehmet Onder, first deputy commander of the Turkish General Defense Staff by Ivan Staevski in Sofia on 21 February: "There Are No Issues That Divide Bulgaria and Turkey"—first paragraph is OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK introduction]

[Text] Army General Mehmet Onder, first deputy commander of the Turkish General Defense Staff, visited Bulgaria. General Onder visited military installations and met Colonel General Radnyu Minchev, commander of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army. The distinguished guest also visited Michurin, where his mother was born. On 21 February, prior to his departure, he gave a brief interview to OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK at Sofia Airport.

[Staevski] How do you assess your visit?

[Onder] I am the first Turkish general who has visited your country since 1923. I came at the invitation of General Staff Deputy Commander Lieutenant General Petrov. We discussed many specific items and decided that for the sake of improving our relations it is better to hold talks at both higher and lower levels.

Delegations from both countries' Armed Forces will conduct inspections on the territories of the two countries by May. We will inspect matters related to combat training first. Everything will be done in the spirit of the Paris conference on reducing conventional weapons. Our present good relations can be even better. During our visit we sensed hospitality and warmth.

[Staevski] How do you view the idea of a Balkan security system?

[Onder] This is a political issue. I can address it, however, as it relates to the military situation. At present we all are interested in the Gulf war. When it ends, the issue of Balkan security will attract the attention of the world public. Because Turkey borders on countries that conduct combat operations, this also indirectly affects our neighbors. Good relations between the two countries will contribute to calming the situation.

[Staevski] How does the Turkish military view the idea of cooperation between our countries?

[Onder] Categorically, there are no issues that divide the two countries.

Pavlov Signs Transportation Accord in Ankara

AU2702201991 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Ankara, February 27 (BTA)—Bulgarian Minister of Transport Veselin Pavlov and his Turkish counterpart Cengiz Tuncer signed a transport cooperation agreement here today.

The Turkish minister of transport and communications said that this document will encourage the development of bilateral cooperation. He pointed out that it will speed the integration of the region into the European transport structures.

Under the agreement Bulgaria and Turkey will pursue cooperation in road, sea, air and rail transport. It envisages contacts with Yugoslavia that will create better travel conditions on the Belgrade-Sofia-Istanbul route which is part of the main European roads. Experts from the three countries will meet to discuss the building of the stretch of the Trans-European North-South Highway running through Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey.

The document fixes a tight schedule for the fulfillment of all clauses.

Ruse-Giurgiu Ecological Situation Examined

AU2802122291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Feb 91 p 1

[Text] Sofia 22 February (BTA)—The Ruse-Giurgiu area should be regarded as a common ecological zone. Bulgaria and Romania should share their common concern about this area and resolve its ecological problems with joint efforts.

This is part of the conclusions drawn by an international experts' group that conducted an investigation under the auspices of the United Nations Ecological Program [UNEP] headed by Mr. Mustafa Tolba. The results of the investigation were discussed by Mr. Dan Beardsley, vice president [title as published] of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency during his meeting with the Bulgarian Deputy Environment Minister Valentin Borisov. In briefing a BTA reporter on the event, the deputy minister stated that Mr. Beardsley promised to take care of

financial assistance for further research on the environmental situation and on the problems related to environmental pollution on both sides of the Bulgarian-Romanian border, while indicating that Bulgaria had so far claimed that Romanian plants were the only source of pollution. The U.S. agency is expected to provide financial assistance for the work of a joint coordinating group composed of Bulgarian and Romanian experts who shall continue to exert control over the ecological situation in the area.

Foreign Ministry Issues Macedonian Declaration

AU2702153091 Sofia BTA in English 1354 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has entirely refuted and defined as ungrounded the tendentious statements and hints made by certain circles in Yugoslavia alleging that a Bulgaro-Greek Pact was set up against it after the latest meeting of the prime ministers of Bulgaria and Greece.

In connection with the qualification of some statements of the prime ministers of the two countries as being "anti-Yugoslav" and "anti-Macedonian" and the Yugoslav diplomatic demarche addressed to Bulgaria, today the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs came out with a declaration which was made public at its regular briefing.

It is underlined in the declaration that Bulgaro-Greek cooperation is not to the prejudice of any other country whatsoever, that it is open to other countries as well. It is Bulgaria's desire to develop its relations with all other countries in the region in the same spirit.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that Bulgaria's principled position on its relations with Yugoslavia is that of strengthening and promoting its relations with the latter. Bulgaria closely follows and supports the democratic processes in its Western neighbor and considers that the Yugoslav peoples will decide their future fate themselves, without any interference from the outside.

Bulgaria does not intend to hamper the assertion of Macedonia's sovereignty and considers the declaration on sovereignty to be a lawful act.

If Macedonia decides to become an independent state, implementing its decision through lawful means, as a result of intra-Yugoslav negotiations and depending on the realities there, Bulgaria will respect its will and confirms once more that it has no territorial claims to lay on Macedonia, it is said in the declaration of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Zhivkov, Balev Maintain Complete Innocence

AU2702162891 Sofia BTA in English 1514 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—Today Todor Zhivkov maintained his complete innocence and kept blaming "the time and the age" and the situation in the other socialist countries. Then Milko Balev, his long-standing close aide, followed suit and pleaded not guilty. He dwelled on his role in the publication of Todor Zhivkov's works and said he was ready to "retake it right now." Referring to his own work in this field as "research," he admitted that it had boosted Todor Zhivkov's personality cult. He added immediately that "these works are indispensable for Bulgaria." He believes that Bulgarian science cannot ignore this "wealth of facts."

Milko Balev complained that he was "the only staff member of Todor Zhivkov's office who has been arrested."

The court will resume its hearing tomorrow.

Application of Land Law, Land Reform Begins

AU2802112091 Sofia BTA in English 1041 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—The Land Act passed by the legislature restores the right of ownership of arable land to previous owners. The period between the passage of the act and the moment the owners are practically able to dispose of their land will be a period of transition. Experts say they cannot predict the exact duration of the period because it depends on the activity of the legislature, government and landowners themselves. They also claim that the decision to return the land to its previous owners sets a precedent in international practice.

The recently passed Land Act provides for consolidation of the small plots of land which existed before the collectivization. However, the land consolidation will require the passage of an Agricultural Cadastre Act which has already been drafted by the government. This act will determine the borders and the extent of the commons. Then the land will be divided by local land commissions. In consolidating the land the commissions will take into account the documents submitted by previous landowners proving the grade and size of their land. Experts believe this will take two or three years.

"No one will receive his father's land or the land of his childhood memories but all who have the right will be given land; they should only be patient, calm and reasonable," the minister of agriculture Boris Spirov said recently.

The government will probably intervene to start the agrarian reform so that the land could be put under crop in time. The government has to work out the regulations for the enforcement of the Land Act. Experts have already come up with solutions. According to them, owners who opt out of the cooperative farms to start private or new-style cooperative farms should be given land this spring. To avoid further complications and disputes, they will not be granted ownership of the land. These people will be cultivating the land until consolidation finishes in the respective region and they obtain a title of ownership of the same or another plot of land. Only then will they be able to dispose freely of their land: to sell it, exchange it, or rent it out.

ASO To Lay Claim to Socialist Party Property

AU2702154591 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] The Alternative Socialist Association [ASO] believes that the question of the guilt of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is a moral, not a judicial issue, and the attempts to replace the word—guilt—with the term—political responsibility—prove the BSP's inability to change itself not only politically, but also psychologically. This was stated at a news conference held today by Nedyalko Yordanov, who presented the standpoint of the ASO-Independents on the issue of the BSP's guilt.

The association's Political Council announced that the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, Fatherland Union, and Bulgarian Democratic Youth should also accept their part of the guilt. The ASO-Independents consider that the information on the BSP's property does not agree with the property actually held by the party, because a large part of that has been transferred to various firms and institutions. The association, which at the moment has no property, is considering the possibility of submitting a claim for part of the BSP's property.

ASO demands that before the end of March a public report be presented on companies abroad with Bulgarian participation.

It was announced at the news conference that the association plans to organize a national action to collect money for the restoration of the Zografski Monastery.

Small Business Enterprises Union Established

AU2802121991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Feb 91 p 2

[Katya Yaneva report: "Small Business Companies Established Their Own Union"]

[Text] Approximately 200 owners of one-man and collective private enterprises established their own union in charge of protecting their interests. This happened in Sofia yesterday following a two-month preparation period during which the initiative committee drafted the union's statute and program.

The newly created union is expected to promote the development of the so-called "small business enterprises." The union also pursues the goal of organizing a system of mutual assistance and social protection for the transition to market economy relations. By joining efforts and resources the private companies will participate in implementing major financial and economic projects and in coping with nationwide tasks.

Particular attention will be devoted to the just implementation of the so-called "small privatization" to observe the principle of "equal opportunities for an equal start" through privatization quotas. In cases in which the state is in charge of distributing raw materials, energy, fodder, and other resources, the union will insist on providing for the needs of the one-man and collective enterprises.

In the initial phase the union is expected to dispatch its representatives to all forums that are currently operating to brief the competent services on its requests. Another immediate task of the union is to establish a mutual assistance fund so the companies may promptly obtain urgently needed credits.

The union is expected to draft a model for administrative-legal services at the disposal of the companies for factilitating procedures related to registration and to other legal affairs. The organization of professional training and language courses—presumably free of charge—is also one of the projects planned by the union's initiators.

Sofia City Council Moves on Monopoly Traders

AU2702211791 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] At a session of the Interim Executive Committee of Sofia City People's Council held today, the capital's monopoly on municipal companies trade and service practices was attacked.an attack was launched against the monopoly of the capital's municipal companies in the sphere of trade and services. The statutory fund of these companies is to be reduced in favor of Bulgarian and foreign private companies and producers that are sufficiently strong. If the latter wish to acquire representative sites to offer their goods for sale, they may take part in competitions and auctions. Mayor Karakachanov believes this is likely to attract solid investments to the capital's trading network and to stabilize the market in Sofia.

Moreover, today's Sofia City Council meeting adopted a decision on greater fare reductions for students traveling on the city transportation system than were previously envisaged. A monthly travel pass on one route will now cost 10 leva, and a pass for the entire city system will cost 20 leva.

World Bank Expert Hopeful for Economic Recovery

AU2702193491 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—On his departure today Mr. John Wilton, one of the leaders of the World Bank mission which explored for 15 days the problems facing Bulgaria in the marketization period, said that the new foreign exchange controls, the liberalization of prices, the new budget policy and the understanding between the government and the trade unions raise hopes of economic stabilization and recovery in the near future.

"In April World Bank experts will review the results of the reform and will specify the loan-granting terms," Mr. Wilton added.

Dobrovsky on Abolition of Warsaw Pact

AU2802134091 Prague CTK in English 2130 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—"The activity of all military structures of the Warsaw Pact will end on March 31, 1991," Czechoslovak Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky said here today as he arrived from a session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Budapest.

Summarizing talks in Hungary, he said that the remaining representatives of the joint command would be recalled. "What has not actually functioned for more than a year will formally cease to function," he stressed.

The minister said that the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee should meet in Prague on July 1, 1991 at the latest. If the end of the existence of the Warsaw Pact political structures is agreed upon, the parliaments of the Warsaw Pact member states should ratify the invalidity of the Warsaw Pact by the end of 1991, he added.

Asked about a "coordinating activity" of the former Warsaw members in conventional disarmament in Europe after July 1, he said that nothing was agreed in this respect. However, if need be in connection with the disarmament talks in Vienna an "ad hoc" working group would be set up to discuss these issues.

Commenting on the steps to be taken after the abolition of the Warsaw Treaty, the minister said the establishment of bilateral contacts would not be easy, namely towards the Soviet Union. It will be necessary to seek new ways of establishing new, equal, political relation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Consultations will also have to be held with Poland and Hungary, Dobrovsky concluded.

Foreign Ministry Official on Warsaw Pact Session

AU2802152391 Prague CTK in English 1442 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka told journalists today that the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee is scheduled to meet in Prague at the end of June or in early July.

The meeting was proposed by Czechoslovakia at yesterday's Warsaw Pact meeting in Budapest at which the participating ministers signed a protocol providing for the dissolution of the military structures of the organization.

Czechoslovakia, together with other countries, wanted the Budapest session to fix July 1 as the date for the Prague session but the Soviet delegation said they did not have President Gorbachev's authorization, Matejka said.

The Prague meeting should prepare a protocol which would abolish also the political structures of the Pact. According to Matejka, Czechoslovakia will seek the earliest possible date for the meeting. The protocol would then be ratified by the parliaments of the states concerned and the full abolition of the Pact is thus expected by the end of this year or next spring at the latest.

Matejka, who is also general secretary of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, said the protocol dismantling the military structures of the organization by March 31 was not published after the Soviet representatives said that it was a military document of a secret character and such documents were not published anywhere in the world.

Matejka listed the military bodies which were abolished as the Committee of Defense Ministers, the Joint Armed Forces Joint Command, the Military Council, the Staff and the Technical Committee, the Joint Command's Military Technology Council and the United System of Anti-Aircraft Defense.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky announced that Minister Jiri Dienstbier was leaving today for a European Parliament Session in Brussels where he will make an address on Czechoslovak foreign policy.

Figures Released on Remaining Soviet Troops

LD2702004391 Prague CTK in English 1718 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Text] Mlada Boleslav, Central Bohemia, Feb 26 (CTK)—Some 11,500 Soviet soldiers and officers (14.8 per cent) and about 7,000 family members have remained on the Czechoslovak territory, Major General Svetozar Nadovic said here today. The Federal Defence Ministry administration commander for the withdrawal of Soviet troops said that almost all combat units of the Soviet troops Central Group left by February 19. There are altogether one motorized artillery regiment, one reconnaisance and one protection batallion, 29 tanks, 152 combat vehicles and armoured carriers and 30 gun and mortar barrels deployed at Milovice, 30 kms north-east of Prague. All the three units will be withdrawn by the end of May 1991, Nadovic said. Originally there were 73,500 Soviet soldiers in Czechoslovakia. An agreement on conditions of the withdrawal of Soviet troops was signed between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union on February 26, 1990.

Havel Interviewed on Slovakia's Attitude

LD2702121291

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1800 GMT on 26 February carries a 34-minute "exclusive" interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel. The recorded interview was conducted by reporter Ernest Weidler. Place and date are not given.

Weidler first asks Havel whether he is fed up with the continuous attention of the media and the strain of his job.

Havel replies: "Since I have to receive people from morning to night, every day, and many of these receptions are only formal, and since I have to keep the conversation flowing all the time—and I am more of a loner who is used to sitting at home and writing—it is natural that I am sometimes tired and would like to run away and be on my own. I am becoming fed up. I am, however, a man with strong willpower. I am able to force myself to carry out my duties even when I would rather go for a walk around Petrin [part of Prague]."

Weidler then asks about Havel's attitude about his Czech nationality and whether anybody should be ashamed about belonging to a certain nation. Havel says that nobody should ever feel ashamed of belonging to a nation, because all men and all nations are equal. It is a fact of life that he is Czech. He was born that way, and he cannot understand why he should be ashamed of it. The fact that he is Czech is not a key to his character. The most important values for him are the all-human values embracing the whole of mankind. That is what determines the nature of a man.

Weidler then asks about the negative attitude of some Czechs toward the effort of the Slovaks to achieve national identity. He asks why they cannot differentiate between nationalists with a past tainted with the activity during the fascist Slovak state in World War II and the Slovaks—democrats who want a free and better future for their country. Havel says that he does not like to make generalizations about all Czechs. He can only describe some elements in Bohemia regarding relations with Slovakia.

Havel says: "In my opinion, there is no sensible, normal Czech who would deny the Slovaks their right to identity, who would deny that their experience of the world, their social background, their history, their perception, and their culture are different." The fact that there are various differing groups and societies makes the world more interesting.

Havel continues: "If anybody says that the Slovaks are strange, that they are inferior, or that they are suspicious because they are slightly different and because they desire to express their national identity, it is preposterous. I think that there are not many people in Bohemia who would say that. Nevertheless, it is true that in Bohemia distrust of the Slovak emancipation effort is widespread. It is based on one thing: For the Czechs, the feeling of being a Czech, of Czech statehood, is identical with the feeling of being a Czechoslovak, of Czechoslovak statehood. People here identify with whatever is federal much more than in Slovakia. In Slovakia, very often everything federal is perceived as something forced upon them, something slightly hostile, something suspicious, and something not quite legitimate. However, many Slovaks in the federal bodies are seen as renegades because they do not live in Bratislava, but in Prague. Everything federal is slightly suspicious. This is not true about the Czechs, who identify with everything federal. It is connected with the simple fact that the center of the federation is in Prague; that is, in Bohemia. This is happening. I have criticized it on many occasions.

On the other hand, to give a balanced picture, it is true that the Slovak emancipation effort, which is fully logical, understandable, respectable, and correct in essence, sometimes takes forms in which it begins to become slightly dangerous. It starts to break up and create problems in the federation. Although verbally it claims the will to live in a federal state together with the Czechs, in practice it paralyzes the operation of federal structures and federal links. This happens here and there and naturally serves as an argument for the people who are prejudiced against the Slovaks."

Weidler says that some views in Bohemia make more difficult the situation of those Slovaks who want to live in peace with the Czechs. Havel agrees and says that he does not like some articles in the Czech press because they are insensitive and treat all Slovaks the same way.

Havel comments: "It must be said, and I mention this in the interview that will be published in the journal RESPEKT today—but I am not sure how it will be taken in Slovakia—that the Slovak reactions are sometimes disproportionally oversensitive, in my view. I think that it is a mature nation like any other and that it can be treated like any other. It is not good if some people ask for special cautious behavior regarding this nation. Do you understand me?"

Weidler then asks why so few Slovak proposals are received positively in Prague. For example, the Slovak National Council prepared a long time ago a bill on mass media, but it was dismissed in Prague. Havel quotes the law on the division of powers, which was originally a Slovak proposal and which was adopted on the federal level. Naturally, not every proposal is adopted, but it is not a question of where the proposal has come from.

Havel says: "Naturally, there are long discussions and arguments about many Slovak proposals. In the end, a compromise is adopted. In my view, in important matters it is not an argument of the Czechs or the Slovaks, but it is more an argument among those who want a more close-knit federation and those who are for a looser structure. This is true about the law on the radio as well. It is not only in Bohemia but also in Slovakia that articles have been published that have criticized this total division into two radios or two televisions, which was proposed by Slovakia. Do you remember when Slovak grandmothers complained that they could not watch a Czech play on television because the Czech and the Slovak broadcasts are divided? This argument between the Czechs and the Slovaks is more of an argument between those who want to preserve more federal features and those who would rather see less federal and more republic features. This argument is

necessary, as we live in a time when these two nations are searching for a model of coexistence for the first time."

Havel describes the history of the law on federation as the law, from 1968, which was implemented in the totalitarian regime. There has never been a satisfactory model of Czech and Slovak coexistence before World War II.

Havel notes: "This is the first time since we have started to live together in a joint state that we are looking for a just method of coexistence. This is a process that is not simple and cannot be settled overnight without dramatic debates. These have been, are, and will be going on for some time. A new drama will start. We will be discussing our constitutions. Therefore, we should not be surprised that different views are clashing. I will not take it as something tragic or as an attempt on the part of the Czechs to defend their supremacy over the Slovaks. In the majority of cases, this does not apply."

Weidler then says that not only Slovak grandmothers but almost the whole Slovak nation would like to be able to watch Czech television, which is prevented by the division of broadcasts.

Havel says: "I must admit that I regret that I am unable to watch the address of Prime Minister Meciar on Slovak television on Sunday evenings."

Weidler then speaks about the importance of the time when new constitutions are being adopted. Havel agrees that the constitutions are a very important matter.

Havel says: "I see the formation of the constitutions as a very important matter. Therefore, I get involved personally. I initiated the regular meetings at Vikarka restaurant, where I want the highest representatives of the main political forces, governments, and legislatures to discuss these matters. I am planning to take other steps to be able to exclude as much as possible various emotions and suspicions and make the argument a practical, concrete debate."

Weidler then asks about the idea of creating a federal constitution only on the basis of approved national constitutions.

Havel comments: "We discussed this in detail during our last meeting at Vikarka. The majority of Federal, Slovak, and Czech officials thought that a joint political declaration of two National Councils should be created. On behalf of the citizens of the two republics in free conditions, it would declare their will—that is, mainly of the Czech and Slovak nation, but naturally also of the minority nationalities—to live in a joint federative state. The federal constitution would be created on the basis of this declaration. In this way it would derive its mandate, its right to existence, from it and would even refer to it. This is the view that I think will win. In its spirit, I am taking my steps and presenting my proposals. It envisages that this declaration will be adopted prior to the federal constitution as its prerequisite. Whether the two republic constitutions will be adopted prior to the federal one or at the same time or even after it is still a question that needs to be agreed. No decision has been made yet. Whatever the decision, one thing is certain: All three constitutions must be created in cooperation and coordination to suit each other, otherwise the state will not function if the three constitutions are created independently, and one does not know anything about the other."

Weidler then asks whether Havel thinks that he is objectively informed about the situation in Slovakia as he is surrounded mostly by people who are pro-Czech and there is no one among them who is a fan of Slovakia.

Havel replies: "From time to time, people tell me that there are not enough Slovaks at the castle. Regarding this issue, my conscience is clear. I keep inviting them, but they simply do not come. It is very difficult for me to find a Slovak who would be willing to move to Prague and work at the castle. In the narrow circle around me of my fellow workers, it is only Martin Butora who is Slovak. Now Miro Kusy joined us. He is the head of our first Bratislava presidential office. I would love to have more Slovaks if I could get them.

Second, we are trying as much as we can to be representatives of the federation. I am federal president. I took my oath on the Federal Constitution. Our aim is to serve the federation. Other people must judge whether we do it or not, but I would definitely defend myself against the suspicion that we are following a pro-Czech line."

More on 25 Feb Federal Government Session

AU2702134391 Prague CTK in English 1605 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)— The Czechoslovak Government today approved documents on the dissolution of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the proposed statute of an Organization for International Economic Cooperation.

The Federal Government was informed of the Hungarian proposal to postpone the closing session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) originally planned for February 27 and 28. One of the reasons for this decision are new Polish proposals which, according to the Czechoslovak Government, must be respected.

At the closing CMEA session the CMEA members are to sign documents providing for quite new principles of mutual cooperation. The system of economic cooperation is to be based on a quite new footing. The new organization is to be called the Organization for International Economic Cooperation and it is to specialize in the exchange of information and in consultations on cooperation. The new organization will not take over the activity of CMEA.

The Czechoslovak Government charged Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy with setting up working groups of experts from Czechoslovakia and Austria to consider the five-point Austrian project concerning Czechoslovakia's energy production and to submit their conclusions by March 22, 1991.

The government discussed the results of the working meeting of Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky held in Bratislava on January 29 on power economy of Czechoslovakia.

The five-point project includes joint production of power plants, power supplies from Austria free of charge, the construction of a hydroelectric power plant near Vienna, technical assistance to the Czechoslovak power engineering, and the establishment of a joint safety system.

The Czechoslovak Government agreed today that the prices on fuel and energy should be raised as of May 1, 1991 and that monthly allocations worth 50 crowns [korunas] and 80 crowns will be paid to children and pensioners respectively.

The government dealt with the proposal put forward by the Federal Ministry of Finance according to which fuel and energy are to be raised by [up to] 324 per cent in two stages. While the Czech Government agreed with this proposal with great reservations, the Slovak Government rejected it.

In view of the fact that the original proposal fixing the first price rise for March 1 was postponed by two months, the two governments will have sufficient space to further discuss this serious decision.

KVP Demands Prosecution of Communist Crimes

AU2702172191 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Feb 91 p 3

[CTK report: "Against the Statute of Limitations"]

[Excerpt] Brno— The fourth nationwide congress of the CSFR Confederation of Political Prisoners (KVP) was held in Brno yesterday. The congress called on the CSFR Government, the Czech and Slovak Governments, the Federal Assembly, and both National Councils to get rid of those who held important and nomenklatura positions in the state apparatus in the past and who compromised themselves. The participants expressed their support for the thorough screening of all more senior state officials and representatives of economic administration and demanded that a law be passed rendering the statute of limitations invalid in the case of crimes against humanity committed in the name of the communist regime. [passage omitted]

Czech Prime Minister Notes Environmental Concerns

LD2702132691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by (Antonin Pecenka) in Liblice on 26 February—recorded]

[Excerpt] There was a meeting today in Liblice in the Melnik area to discuss the problems of the environment. Among the guests was Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart, who was interviewed by (Antonin Pecenka):

[(Pecenka)] Mr. Prime Minister, you were informed in detail about the ecology situation of the Melnik District. It is not a happy story. What do you think the condition of Melnik will be in the year 2000?

[Pithart] Today the situation is critical. The people who live here must have the possibility of influencing the existence of production. I am thinking of the huge chemical works in the area. It is not possible in the future to come to the government with complaints and requests. The government cannot and does not want to deal with these concrete conflicts of interest. On the other hand, the government must be required to initiate such laws so that the local bodies can enter the interest game. This concerns millions, since there are large factories. They should be able to make decisions on the basis of their own calculations about whether it is worthwhile for them to have the factory in their territory or their region, and to get large sums of money for it or to move it out by loading it with taxes. Naturally, the other side, the factory, will be thinking in the same way. It will consider whether it is worth paying such huge sums as fines or whether it will deal with it by purchasing foreign progessive technology that is ecologically sound. [passage omitted]

Commentary on Possible VPN Disintegration

AU2702171791 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Feb 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Merely an Unusual Agreement With Carnogursky?"]

[Text] An observer of the internal political scene in Slovakia does not have to forage for lobby information permeating government or party offices to come to the conclusion that—from the publicized statements made by leading Public Against Violence [VPN] movement representatives at the Topolcany republican assembly—halftime is approaching in the movement's disintegration. This is associated with the process of natural differentiation within individual ideological streams not only at its senior level but also at its grass roots level, where certain topical social problems are perceived differently than in the Bratislava center. Differences are also obvious in the hierarchic methods for determining the urgency of resolving these problems. This is all the

more tellingly illustrated in how the so-called national dimension in the VPN's program is comprehended. While Fedor Gal, the movement's most senior representative, refuses to give this dimension precedence—in concurrence with the views of Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kucerak and Professor Miroslav Kusy—Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, with the backing of several of his ministers, stresses the task of "completing the construction of Slovak statehood as a basis for selecting the Slovak Republic's future structure."

According to Meciar, his efforts are "oriented toward the Slovak nation's complete self-determination" as formulated in the VPN program "A Chance for Slovakia." In this connection, the aforementioned document states that "the sovereignty of each of the two national republics is an intrinsic and fundamental sovereignty, while the federation's sovereignty is a given and delegated sovereignty." The Slovak prime minister also bears in mind the provisions contained in the program where the need "for the state to operate against economic imbalance by indirect means and to strive to limit inflation" is discussed. Meciar's critics regard his approach toward implementing the VPN's preelection resolutions as courting nationalist tendencies and as populism under the sway of social demagogy. If we admit to such characteristics in Meciar's policy, we then have to recognize that the VPN's program for winning over voters in the June parliamentary elections was also under the sway of populistic stylization.

I would emphasize the accusation against Meciar that he is "courting" the Christian Democrats [KDH] since his political ideas resemble—in several points—the latest version of the KDH's national and socioeconomic concept. Perhaps this merely involves an "unusual" agreement with his rival Jan Carnogursky to discuss topical issues and present political priorities. However, more serious observers ascribe this to the pragmatic orientation of both politicians who are not burdened by intellectual doctrinairism or by prejudices against the "leftist" inclinations of the majority of our population. The Slovak prime minister differs from his first deputy in that from time to time he pays a price for the political defects caused by his choleric nature; however, each is similar to the other in that they never lose their feeling for political realism.

Hunger Strike Against Exploitation of Slovakia

AU2702132991 Prague CTK in English 2101 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Text] Bratislava Feb 25 (CTK)—"The policy of the federal government, Federal Assembly, and the president deliberately and systematically impoverishes Slovakia and breaks the unity of the Slovaks," says Slovak Milan Bystricky who decided to go on a hunger-strike from March 1-16, 1991.

"Unfortunately, another sad reality is the venality of the Slovak Government and the Slovak National Council (Slovak parliament) helping the impoverishment of the Slovak nation," added Bystricky who was one of the strikers on a downtown Bratislava square protesting against the so-called language law adopted by the Slovak parliament last autumn. The controversial law allows ethnic minorities to use their own language as the official one.

"Slovakia is directly threatened to remain a Czech colony. We have to haggle with Prague about everything rightly belonging to us. Worry about Slovakia, worry that the Slovaks cease to exist as a nation drives me to a political protest," writes Bystricky in his statement.

SDL Head Comments on OF Split, VPN Assembly

LD2702130191 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Party of the Democratic Left, SDL, by Jan Janosik on 26 February; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Janosik] Mr. Weiss, numerous assemblies were held last weekend. What is the view of the SDL about the split in the Civic Forum [OF] and of the Public Against Violence [VPN] assembly?

[Weiss] The differentiation process within Civic Forum came as a surprise to no one. It was expected to happen immediately after the elections. From our point of view, the much more important issue is which of these two subjects the Public Against Violence will direct toward. This direction will undoubtedly be greatly influenced by the fact that Klaus' Civic Political Party wishes to establish itself as a party operating throughout the federation. I think that this factor cannot fail to influence the relations with the Public Against Violence and with those who withdrew from the Civic Forum. Another question also arises following the Public Against Violence assembly: How long is this artificially maintained unity likely to last? We have our own experience regarding how much effort must be expended to maintain at any cost the artificial unity of a political organization. I think that the differentiation process is very clear regarding the Public Against Violence. The unequivocal pronouncements of Prime Minister Meciar on the one hand and Chairman Gal on the other hand testify to this. For us, a very specific question is arising: Which election program will the Public Against Violence be implementing, and what will the government focus on? There were no resolutions in the Public Against Violence election program, but the deputies from the Public Against Violence did help to ratify the decisions.

[Janosik] Opinions on fresh evaluations or a new view of the past 40 years have been appearing.

[Weiss] These are being tabled, especially in connection with February 1948. All that followed should be subject to an objective and independent specialized historical analysis free from any previous ideological or political prejudice, and also free of interference by political power

into these studies, or rather, into the interpretations of these studies. I think that the task of the current government is to rule and administer the state in keeping with the mandate given to it in the elections, not to act as an arbiter or interpreter of historical processes. I think that historical truth, even that concerning modern history, cannot be determined by voting, no matter whether it takes place in the context of a political party, in the government, or in the legislature.

Hungarian Official on Minority Representation

AU2602175491 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 22 Feb 91 p 11

[Interview with Zoltan Sido, chairman of the National Presidium of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in the CSFR, by Zoltan Furucz; place and date not given: "The Meeting in Visegrad and the CSEMADOK—The Hungarians Are Waiting for an Apology"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] Hungarian-CSFR relations seem to have settled down following the recent national minority debates. The recent tripartite summit held in Visegrad was one of the important stages in this normalization of relations. What does President Havel's participation at this outstanding event represent for the Hungarian minority living in Slovakia?—we asked Zoltan Sido.

[Sido] In my opinion, this meeting can be regarded as a milestone. These three countries are facing similar problems and their international and domestic policy tasks are also almost similar. They can join forces to solve these problems, and this can also increase the efficiency of the necessary measures.

[Furucz] How will the increase in bilateral cooperation affect the situation of Hungarians living in Slovakia?

[Sido] This will only affect the Hungarians indirectly. So far, it is too early to evaluate the effects of the tripartite meeting. [passage omitted]

[Furucz] Has the new program of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in the CSFR [CSEMADOK] received any political content?

[Sido] No. We continue to stick to our independence. Our main goal is to see to it that CSEMADOK gives every Hungarian in Slovakia the opportunity to be active in the community, irrespective of the person's political affiliation.

[Furucz] CSEMADOK also received considerable state support from the Slovak Government in the past. Has this financial support been maintained?

[Sido] Yes. Our budget for this year includes a financial support of 8.1 million korunas. We use this to cover the expenses of our national and local events and the wages of our junior personnel. Our basic organizations manage from the average annual membership fee of Ksz 13 and from the income deriving from our events.

[Furucz] How is the Hungarian minority represented in the Slovak government?

[Sido] Dr. Sandor Varga was deputy prime minister following the silent revolution. This position went to Dr. Gabor Zaszlos after the elections. Dr. Laszlo A. Nagy is deputy president of the Slovak legislature. I think this is some kind of acceptance of the fact that the Hungarian minority is a considerable factor in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

PRC's Qian Qichen Makes Stop on Way to Warsaw

LD2702215591 Prague CTK in English 2110 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 27 (CTK)—Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen used his stopover in Prague on his way from Madrid to Warsaw for a half-an-hour talk with Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Martin Palous and president's adviser Alexander Vondra today.

Palour stressed that the trend of the present Czechoslovak foreign policy is not to make mutual relations difficult. Czechoslovakia follows with interest the situation in China and tries to find a common language.

Both parts expressed hopes that an official meeting of the foreign ministers of both countries will be held soon.

Economic cooperation with China is very important for Czechoslovakia. Palous told journalists after the meeting. A lot of Czechoslovak products can find new markets there even in the time of a difficult world economic situation. It is very important now that the extent of trade with Comecon countries has diminished, he added.

Clearing should be gradually replaced by barter trade, Palour said.

Goncz on 'Fear' in Society, Role of President

AU2702140391 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Feb 91 p 1

["Sz.A."-signed report: "Goncz: Bitterness and Fear"]

[Text] Bitterness and fear—these were the terms used by Hungarian President Arpad Goncz during his radio interview yesterday [24 February] on the public mood in the country. People are afraid of the future and of unemployment; most of all, they are worried that actions will be taken "on the quiet" again. A diffuse wave of fear has swept over the country, even though political parties had promised during the run-up to last year's elections that they would free Hungarian citizens of fear.

Answering a question, the president stated that "it could hardly be said that a new kind of pluralist dictatorship was about to surface in Hungary," given that no one had appropriate or sufficient power for that. Naturally, many people fear a new dictatorship, and there are elements in the extreme right and the extreme left who fantasize about such a dictatorship, but that is a different matter. The reporter asked whether the president thought that a domestic crisis had developed in the country. According to Arpad Goncz, there is no threat of a political explosion—the public mood is not characterized by anger but by fear, which is worse. The president continued by saying that this fear prevented people from expressing their views. If it is not possible to create prosperity and a basis for freedom, then we should at least ensure that citizens have the right to express their opinions.

In relation to that, President Arpad Goncz made a separate comment on the role of interest representation groups and trade unions. The president stated that employees should be given the right to look into matters concerning their place of work, particularly if these matters had anything to do with privatization. Goncz stressed that trade unions did not want the right to make decisions; they merely want to safeguard their right to be informed. The president was asked whether political parties truly represented their electorate in the National Assembly. As a reply, the president said that he had not heard the words factory worker or miner for a long time; there are several social strata whose problems and interests are hardly ever referred to. Not to mention the fact that an issue like the housing problem, which used to be a major political issue at one time, has been forgotten by a lot of people. Arpad Goncz said that it was time for us to realize that social problems are not individual problems; interest representation groups, parliamentarians, and politicians should help those who are in trouble. "The fate of a child is far more important than a possible power struggle between the prime minister and myself," Arpad Goncz said.

The president stated that human beings had disappeared behind the concepts of various technocrats these days. He added that human beings could not be considered merely as an economic category.

As far as attacks against the president were concerned, Arpad Goncz said that he considered these as an occupational hazard, and he did not think that people hated him. Concerning the results of an opinion poll published last week, the president said that it was easy for Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to make himself unpopular, given that he had to make some extremely sensitive decisions. Analyzing his own political concepts, the president stated that he wished to be more thorough in his work in the future, and that there would be little room for impromptu decisions. Arpad Goncz would like to develop an adequate apparatus that would follow Parliament's work closely, an apparatus that would help him convey his opinion to the National Assembly whenever necessary, without provoking new quarrels concerning spheres of authority, of course. The president wants to make use of his constitutional right to initiate laws—if need be—in areas that are important to him, or to draw the attention of the National Assembly to specific problems. "That is a constitutional method of influencing the National Assembly's work, a method well worth using," Arpad Goncz said.

Minister Galszecsy on Intelligence Activity

AU2702181391 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Feb 91 p 5

[Interview with Minister Without Portfolio Andras Galszecsy by Karoly Lencses; place and date not given: "We Are More Vulnerable—Intelligence Without Agents"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] Perhaps the change in the regime has been nowhere as complete as in the case of intelligence services: Their structure has changed, the tasks have been modified, leaders have changed, and some 40 percent of the personnel has left, most of them on the basis of their own decision. We asked Andras Galszecsy whether the civilian intelligence services succeeded in preserving their ability to function and how they adjusted to the new conditions.

[Lencses] Mr. Galszecsy! Can we regard the civilian intelligence as the legal successor of the infamous state security services? Do you accept this continuity at all?

[Galszecsy] We must accept this to a certain degree because Hungarian statehood could not stop in the spring of 1990. The nature of our activity has not changed basically and most of our personnel remained on the job; naturally, the III/III group is an exception. One cannot deny the fact that the year 1990 led to a fateful change in intelligence activity because, at long last, we can now work in a legal framework, even if our activity is only regulated by a temporary law; furthermore, considerable organizational and personnel decisions have also been made.

[Lencses] It is quite well known that, in addition to the dismissed members of the internal security services, many slightly compromised or totally uncompromised people have also retired, and the agents have also been

dismissed. Certain political considerations have unbdoubtedly justified all this, but have these services succeeded in preserving their ability to function?

[Galszecsy] First, I must point out that we only fired 80 people, while several hundred people left voluntarily. Many of them were outstanding professionals who would be needed, but the opportunities in the civilian life are more attractive. [passage omitted]

As for our agents, some will probably be hurt, but I must point out that, today, the Hungarian secret service does not have a network of agents even in areas in which we cannot do without such a network. We hardly made use of this method abroad because it would have cost us a lot. Instead, we made use of the information deriving from our cooperation with the former socialist countries and we were satisfied with the open gathering of information. At home, however, we had a rather well-organized network of agents. [passage omitted]

[Lencses] You met with the CIA leaders recently. Does this mean a different orientation?

[Galszecsy] It might sound immodest, but I will nevertheless declare that there will be no unilateral dependence here as long as I am sitting in this chair. It would be rather unfortunate to run under the protection of another big power, right after escaping the influence of another big power. [passage omitted]

[Lencses] As a matter of fact, what does the cooperation among various secret services cover today?

[Galszecsy] The areas of cooperation are generally not stipulated by written documents. However, we certainly need cooperation in the struggle against terrorism, and even organizations that do not have very good relations also convey such information to each other. Among other things, we talked about this with the CIA leaders, and the Italian interior minister also discussed similar matters during his recent visit. [passage omitted]

MDF Leader Answers Questions on Party Policy

LD2702153791 Budapest MTI in English 1352 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—Speaking to journalists on Wednesday, Balazs Horvath, acting vice president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF], said that the party's national presidium would like the government to be able to deal with governing the country, and not be occupied by party squabbles. It regards runaway inflation, the price cartels, the monopolies and the problems of parliamentary legislation as its enemies, rather than the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Horvath pointed out that as the big monopolies were not being dismantled as fast as envisaged in this year's Democratic Forum programme, the presidium has decided to draw the attention of the government and the leading ministry officials to this, in order for them to take firm action. The presidium is also dissatisfied with the preparatory legislation pertinent to the company councils.

Answering questions, Balazs Horvath stated he has not perceived any trends towards radicalization within the party's parliamentary group. During their heated session, which continued into the night of February 25, the members of the group (the HDF holds 162 of parliament's 384 seats) gave voice to their discontent over their own and the government's work, and criticized the faction's leadership for inefficient activity.

Horvath said that the faction will hold a two-day session next weekend on general political issues.

National Assembly Amends Foreign Investment Law

LD2702162491 Budapest MTI in English 1411 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian parliament has modified the 1988 law on foreign investment in Hungary.

The amendment actually contains no real surprises, as it simply incorporates the changes approved last December under the corporate tax law.

With the amendment to the corporate tax law, parliament withdrew a privilege enjoyed by small companies.

Previously, small businesses, whether wholly Hungarian-owned or partly foreign-owned, were liable to 35-percent profit tax if their annual turnover remained below the 3-million-forint mark.

If their turnover went over that amount, companies were liable to pay 40 percent profit tax.

Under the modified law, an across-the-board corporate profit tax of 40 percent is now levied on all business ventures operating in Hungary.

Some of the benefits joint ventures were eligible for earlier will continue to apply.

For example, joint ventures with founding assets worth more than 50 million forints and a foreign stake of at least 30 percent are still eligible for a 60-percent profit tax concession in the first five years of operation, and for 40 percent in the next five years.

The change is that joint ventures with an initial capital of less than 50 million forints are not eligible for the tax concessions.

Joint ventures the activities of which are listed as being of particular importance to the Hungarian economy will be given a 100-percent tax break for five years and 60 percent for the subsequent five.

Activities falling into this category include electronics, vehicle component manufacture, machine tool production, the manufacture of agricultural, food-processing and forestry machinery, packaging technology, the production of medicines, plant protectives and intermediates, vegetable protein production, and several tourism-related operations.

Effect of War, Soviet Problems on Economy Noted

LD2702132591 Budapest MTI in English 0727 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—Hungary would benefit from a quick end to the Gulf war. In this case, oil prices can be expected to stay low. Hungary can take part in reconstruction projects in Kuwait and the private capital market calms down.

This latter point is all the more important for Hungary as it intends issuing bonds on the private capital market soon, Sandor Czirjak, vice president of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH) said.

Oil imports make up a considerable part of Hungarian imports, the country importing 6-6.5 million tonnes of oil each year, partly from the Soviet Union and partly from other markets.

Hungary intends issuing 1,000 million dollars, worth of bonds this year. It is therefore very important that the private capital market calm down.

Currently, the Hungarian economy is in a somewhat healthier state than expected. According to preliminary figures, the current account had a slight surplus in january. In February, too, the financial processes are more favourable than expected, Czirjak said.

Beside the Gulf war, trade with the Soviet Union is a big insecurity factor as far as the Hungarian economy is concerned.

The Soviet Union's failure to get imports off the ground could send many Hungarian manufacturers to the brink of bankruptcy. The financial troubles in the Soviet Union could put paid to the achievements the Hungarian economy has attained in other areas.

Soviet Importers Open Credit Line for Purchases

LD2702152991 Budapest MTI in English 1307 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Soviet importers have opened $37 million worth of letters of credit through the Vnyesheconombank, the foreign economic bank of the Soviet Union, to cover purchases from Hungary, said Pavel Ilyin, the deputy head of the Budapest representation of the bank, has announced.

Most of the letters of credit have coverage from the central Soviet hard currency reserves.

On February 20, four letters of credit were opened to a total value of $20 million for the purchase of Ikarus buses and components, and on February 8 and 15, letters of credit were opened for $2 and $5.6 million.

The remaining $9.4 million worth of letters of credit has coverage from the Soviet importers' own hard currency funds.

While the latest case was for $104,000 worth of video equipment by the Goskom Inturist of Uzbekhistan opened, a stranger purchase was by the Soviet research institute for 100,000 Deutsch marks worth of second-hand clothes imported by Hungary from the West.

Mr. Ilyin was unable to say precisely how much hard currency Soviet companies have at their disposal.

Official on Postponement of CEMA Session

LD2702162891 Budapest MTI in English 1451 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—CMEA summit, scheduled to have been held in Budapest this week, was not postponed because of some sort of Hungarian-Soviet confrontation, said Imre Szokai, deputy secretary of state at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the session of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly.

It is the fundamental interest of Hungary to maintain good economic relations with the countries of the region, he added.

According to Szokai's information, the CMEA secretariat will shortly prepare the founding of a new organization, which will be suited to handle the common economic difficulties of the transitory period, and will make regular exchanges of information and view possible between the member states.

Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, also discussed the postponed meeting in an interview with the Budapest daily "PESTI HIRLAP." Kadar said numerous signals arrived last week, mainly from the Czech and Polish partners, indicating that the documents of the summit, coordinated in advance, cannot be signed in the original form.

Kadar informed the CMEA secretariat of this, which is why the Soviet proposal for postponing the talks was made. The Hungarian minister was of the opinion that the summit can be held in mid-March.

Skubiszewski Calls For New Treaty With USSR

LD2702224891 Warsaw PAP in English 2145 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 27—At today's session of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski stated that changes taking place in Poland and the Soviet Union demanded that their relations be based on a new treaty, to replace the still binding alliance agreement and to promote good neighbourhood, partnership and mutual advantages.

Skubiszewski announced that the next round of talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland would be held in March. According to him the fact that the final date of the pullout was determined by the USSR (the end of 1994)—though it is unacceptable for Poland—and that it might start in May meant some progress in the negotiations.

Council of Ministers Calls For End to CEMA

LD2702003891 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 26—The liquidation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is necessary, the Council of Ministers stated at its meeting today chaired by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. Having heard a report of Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Dariusz Ledworowski on his consultations with Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the government decided that the plan for replacing CMEA with a new international organization for economic cooperation is unacceptable for Poland in its present form as it does not comply with the new political and economic realities. The government recognized the need for economic cooperation of a strictly regional character based on equal rights and constituting a consultative and information forum. The Council of Ministers was briefed on the current cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and pointed to the significance of the credibility of Polish economic programme for the effectiveness of these contacts. The government also discussed a draft law on principles of payment for medicines and adopted general assumptions of a draft law on representations of foreign companies.

Soviet Rail Transport for Military Arrives

LD2702131891 Warsaw PAP in English 1134 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Szczecin, Feb. 27—A transit train with military equipment and Soviet soldiers from the territory of the former GDR arrived at the Polish railway border crossing in Kunowice, Gorzow Wielkopolski voivodship, on Tuesday.

The transport, equipped with all necessary documents, was directed to the Polish eastern border railway station of Terespol, Biala Podlaska voivodship.

Polish railway border crossings in the voivodships of Szczecin and Gorzow, especially Szczecin-Gumienice and Kostrzyn railway stations, are expected to handle the majority of Soviet transit military rail transports linked with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany, after signing of appropriate Polish-Soviet agreements.

Military Treaty With CSFR Signed in Warsaw

LD2702162591 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Lubos Dobrovsky, Czechoslovak minister of defense, and his Polish counterpart, Piotr Kolodziejczy, signed a treaty in Warsaw today on military cooperation which rests, above all, on information exchange. According to the statement of the Polish minister, in no way is this a new defensive alliance that would replace the Warsaw Pact.

Sejm Accused of Hampering Elections

LD2702165391 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Heads of seven political groupings, including the liberal and conservative parties, have signed an appeal for a new Poland alliance. They propose forming an election alliance of all forces that want our country to reject all forms of totalitarism and servilism and to become the homeland of the sovereign Poles, including those in exile and beyond the eastern border. During a meeting with journalists, the appeal signatories accused the Sejm commission preparing a draft constitution and the election law of actions aimed at making the elections on 26 May impossible.

Balcerowicz Closes Sejm Budget Debate

AU2802114291 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Feb 91 p 7

["Slightly abridged" speech by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz at the Sejm session in Warsaw on 23 February]

[Text] For over 10 months we have been living in a particularly difficult and exceptional period in our history, a period of transferring from one economic, political, and social system to another. Processes like this are exceedingly rare in history. Normally, they are accompanied by great difficulties and major upheavals. Although formally this is a technical and economic debate, I would nevertheless like everyone to be aware of the exceptional nature of this period.

We started implementing a radical and essential economic program under exceptionally difficult conditions. This program has halted hyperinflation; eliminated long lines of shoppers, something we often forget; made the zloty convertible; and, although inflation is still too high, it has restored the value of the zloty. It has brought about major changes to economic institutions. It has introduced a harsh reality to the system of prices, a reality that must be considered if proper decisions are to be made.

These positive changes have been achieved at major social expense.

Just as the economic program was beginning to provide results, the conditions governing its implementation became seriously complicated for two basic reasons; first, circumstances abroad became more difficult than we could imagine when the program was adopted.

Who could have foreseen the speed with which the entire communist system collapsed? Who could have guessed how fast the economy of the Soviet Union would become muddled? Who in November 1989 could have foreseen the unification of Germany and a resulting 80-percent drop of Polish exports to what used to be the GDR? Who could have foreseen the war in the Middle East and the resulting necessity to double the price of fuels?

On top of these external circumstances, which certainly complicate the economic program, we have growing domestic complications. The atmosphere in Poland has deteriorated seriously. I think we are at a difficult turning point. We might be pushed off the path of difficult and essential reforms by a growing wave of demands and short-sighted political dealings.

I would like us to be aware of this dilemma, of the fact that we may be pushed off the path of reform onto the path of demands which, as we know, means that various social groups make demands of each other, but not of the government, demands for which there is no money. Such a danger genuinely exists, and may increase now that, after months of efforts, there is a real chance of negotiating a favorable agreement concerning our foreign debts.

An important, fundamental argument in these negotiations is the fact that Poland is on the path of fundamental and unprecedented economic reforms, and that radical economic aid, which includes the reduction of our debts, is necessary so we can continue these reforms. I think that, too, is a circumstance you should consider when making your decisions.

Many strong expressions and negative opinions have been voiced here today about the program so far and the proposed budget. Some of you have even said you will vote against the budget, which of course you have every right to do. But let me tell you this: Whenever one rejects something, one automatically supports something else.

Let me ask you, if you reject this budget, do you really know what you support instead? You are choosing not for your own parties and social groups, but for Poland, and not for just the short-term. I hope your decisions will be guided by an awareness of the complexity of the period Poland is in.

Any assessment of things that have already been achieved and the proposed program of action must have a point of reference. Such assessments are inevitably a comparison of one thing to another. One has to ask oneself the question: What points of reference were used for the basis of the assessment? I believe that in many cases there was no point of reference.

Critics simply highlighted negative aspects. However, every program has its negative effects, and one must be conscious of the link between any burdens and the positive effects. If somebody uses the mere presence of negative effects to justify their condemnation of a program, then by the same reasoning—whether they like it or not—they must accept the logic that presupposes that they are able to propose a different and better program that will give better results and be less burdensome.

The second [number as published] point of reference evident in much of this argumentation was one that was very comfortable to use; namely, to compare the forecasts that the government gave to the Sejm in 1989 with actual later achievements. This is a typical method of comparison, which is reminiscent of the days of central planning, where actual results were compared to plan forecasts.

Many Sejm deputies have pointed to the fact that there were serious shortfalls of our plan forecasts. However, the mere fact that fulfillment falls short of the targets, namely, that there were mistakes in the calculations, does not automatically mean that the whole plan has to be condemned. We must realize that we are still in a transition period and passing from one system to another. Given our situation, can one insist on accurate and precise forecasts? It is obvious that this is impossible. Even in states that have a stable economic system, in other words, where the political system does not change, economic forecasts are very often wrong.

One must also compare program forecasts to results achieved in countries that are also undergoing similar changes. Look at the example of the former GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. They too have wide discrepancies between forecasts and actual results.

I would like to remind you that—leaving aside those areas that produced shortfall results—there were also areas where actual results exceeded forecasts. We were able to accumulate substantial foreign currency reserves, without which we would now be in a far more difficult situation than we actually are. These reserves provide a form of security for the country that allows us to maintain continuity of supplies and sets us apart from almost all the other post-communist countries.

I regret that this debate has not produced any other viable program that could have been used as a comparison.

I remain convinced that even if a different program had been proposed after the appropriate debate, the final

draft of that program would have emerged in substantially the same shape as the one we are implementing now. I would have been very glad if we had had such a comparison. All the programs, or rather drafts of programs, were based on the common denominator calling for the state to be more active. This is a point that everyone can agree with. Additionally, it was suggested that the state sector should receive more assistance and that the private sector bear a greater share of the burden. And finally, we were asked to communicate better. Regarding this final point, I fully agree. Without real communication, it will we difficult for us to continue with reforms.

However, the other programs that have appeared are simply a recipe for destroying all the achievements that we have won so painstakingly. Promises of a rapid dismantling of the wage restraints where there are no natural counterbalances belong to this category. This would be a sure way of fueling further inflation, unemployment, and deepening the recession.

Here, I would like to express my gratitude to all those deputies who mentioned that a successful end result—still possible to achieve—depends on whether we continue to tell society the stark truth, namely, that one cannot have economic success without effort, initiative, determination, and ingenuity.

I must repeat that we find ourselves at a difficult stage and at a breakthrough. I have the feeling that after many years of successful propaganda, a propaganda of doom has appeared suddenly and at a time when we stand a chance of achieving a real success. This would be a grim historical paradox.

I want to remind you that in the life of society there exist so-called self-fulfilling prophecies. By amplifying feelings of doom in the face of real opportunity, we may bring about a situation in which the prophecies of doom actually come true, namely, our opportunity might vanish.

In connection with this, today I am asking for a decision that will keep Poland on the difficult, but necessary, road of reform. We know what a high price other countries are paying for abandoning this road. It would be a grim historical joke if Poland were to leave this road at precisely the moment when a real external opportunity is materializing and at a time when others are following our footsteps and embarking on this difficult road of reforms.

Solidarity Congress Prospects Viewed

PM2702113691 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Feb 91 p 6

[Jagienka Wilczak article: "An Uphill Congress: If Solidarity Wants To Go On, It Must Remove Its Umbrella Over The Government"]

[Text] The poster announcing the Third Solidarity Congress has, in effect, already been approved and is now ready to be printed. This is what it looks like: three overlapping Solidarity logos, styled in Gdansk italics [reference to the characteristic lettering of the Solidarity logo]. The one in the background symbolizes the First Solidarity Congress and is colored in pale, faded pink. The middle one sports a much more vivid bright pink tone, and the third, in the foreground, is simply in ordinary red. I have heard opinions that it should be the other way round, since the union is fading out before our very eyes, from militant red to tame, dull pink.

In his reply to the question whether Solidarity is split and broken up, Deputy Chairman Lech Kaczynski (who until the election was the union's number two, after Walesa, and who now appears to enjoy the role of number one, with no one above him) answers that the alleged division within the union is an invention of journalists, who have become unduly fond of the idea. Perhaps they are hoping for some sensational development. The truth, meanwhile, looks very different: There has been no division or split and none is imminent, whereas differences of opinion on political grounds are in practice negligible. No one has fallen out with anyone else, and everyone still talks to everyone else. This is evident even at the "Natcom" [National Commission] sessions, where there are no regular contesters fighting one another. All past sins, such as they were, have been cleared by an act of amnesty. Not even Torun—the region which refused to participate in the presidential campaign—had an anathema placed on it: No one in Gdansk reproached them for it with even the mildest rebuke.

Nonetheless, the feelings of the "perpetrators" themselves and their position in their respective regions are a different kettle of fish altogether. It has been said, for instance, that because of his change of allegiance during the election, Michal Boni stood no chance in the Mazowsze region, nor could he hope for a good rating in the election to take place during the approaching Third Congress (this despite the fact that he was an undisputed star of the previous congress). Aware of his position, Boni accepted the prime minister's proposal and assumed the office of labor minister. Similarly, Grazyna Staniszewska (of the Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action [ROAD] group) is in a difficult situation in the Podbeskidzie Region. Her stock is falling and her position is strongly challenged. However, these are individual cases, without far-reaching significance. On the whole, the union's strength can be said to have increased. It has demonstrated its influence, discipline, and efficiency in action. As a popular movement, Solidarity has, in fact, achieved it all: "We have reached the top as a result of joint effort," as Walesa said.

Is this opinion shared by rank-and-file Solidarity members who saw Walesa's rise to the office of president as a last hope that a change can be effected? Recent Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS] polls indicate that it is. Approval for Walesa has increased, and the number of

his opponents has decreased. Of course, this result could be misleading, since those polled included non-Solidarity members. Indeed, it most probably is misleading: A lot of dissatisfaction, bitter resentment, and frustration have surfaced during the current regional conventions. Many people were counting on a miracle, but a miracle failed to happen; nor will the acceleration [of the economic reform] be as speedy as expected. As a result, Solidarity members are accusing their leadership echelons of passivity and impotence, threatening nonpayment of union dues and even leaving union ranks. Union discipline has become slack. The Malopolska regional convention failed to pass a lot of resolutions because it did not have the required quorum.

The complementary selection of candidates to the Third Congress did not pass without trouble, either. Stefan Jurczak, National Commission deputy head, says that unionists wasted their time in becoming totally immersed in unnecessary quarrels, harboring fears about the rise of a new, Solidarity-based nomenklatura, or questioning the frequent trips abroad that Solidarity activists were making in the course of their duties: Who went where, why, and what for? The Mazowsze regional convention looked very much the same. On the other hand, however, issues connected with workers' interests are slowly beginning to take precedence over political matters, and this development should be stressed and appreciated.

Walesa's departure for the Belweder Palace cannot be said to have changed anything in the work of Solidarity's headquarters in Gdansk. Perhaps there are fewer visits from foreign guests and journalists. However, these were never particularly interested in union matters, in any case. "After all, Lech also stopped attending to them a long while ago," headquarters staff point out. "In fact, this place is probably becoming more normal now." Even so, one thing has not changed a bit: Janusz Palubicki, alias Wielkopolska's Sunshine Boy, as he is affectionately known here, still enforces union discipline with an iron fist—woe to any Presidium member who might dare to be late for a meeting.

A Wealth of Salons

Solidarity was criticized for getting itself into a trap: It could not press for compensatory pay increases and challenge its own government, so it chose the participation model. The slogan "Let Us All Be Nice to One Another" seems to have done no good either to Solidarity or to the government. And what can we expect now that the Gdansk contingent has taken over in Warsaw?

Lech Kaczynski insists that the factor which ties the Union's hands and stops it from making compensation demands is most certainly not the government connection but the the awareness of the difficult political and economic situation. The present government is not any more "Solidarity-derived" than the previous one. In fact, only one of the leading members of the National Commission, Michal Boni, joined the government at the last reshuffle, while the head of the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] had Solidarity connections. If we are to talk about Solidarity connections, then the Union can wield much more influence in the president's office—and even this, chiefly through J. Merkel and Jaroslaw Kaczynski. "It is not the same Gdansk salon," Lech Kaczynski says. And he goes on to emphasize unequivocally that "the Bielecki cabinet is the government of the Gdansk liberals." True, nearly all of them have had something to do with Solidarity, mostly in their underground work, and they all know one another, but any intimate links are most definitely ruled out, and this includes even the sphere of social contacts.

Solidarity activists remember that it was none other than that very group of liberals who set up the Gdansk Citizens' Initiative [GIO] in 1988 and promoted the view that the next major public emprise would no longer involve Solidarity issues. The authorities then in power were only too keen to embrace this idea. You could even say that a conflict arose at that time between Solidarity and GIO. History has demonstrated who was right at the time. Union leaders say that the consequences of these past conflicts are, in fact, making their work easier now. In any case, healthy—albeit uncompromising—contacts with the government are needed by each side. If Solidarity wants to continue, it must fold and remove the umbrella that it spreads over the government. And the government in turn must come to appreciate that the union constitutes for it a partner who defends the reform. No one can reasonably deny that enterprise Solidarity commissions continue to play the role of protective buffer: They tone down strikes or channel them so that the opponent cannot take over the initiative and mess matters up. The government should realize that the National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] is no partner with whom to implement this reform.

Naturally, both the leaders and the rank-and-file Solidarity members are irritated to see that the new ministers have taken shelter in their comfortable offices and so far have not proved themselves in action. Some say, jokingly, that the new incumbents are still learning the topography of the Council of Ministers Office [URM] and practicing recognition of the (color-coded) hierarchical order of importance of URM telephones. Be that as it may, every new cabinet enjoys an initial close season of 100 days.

No Silk Gloves

The initial talks between Solidarity unionists and the government were scheduled for 8 February, and it is already clear that they will not be conducted in an atmosphere of mutual praise and compliment. The situation in the country is certainly very tense, and they are fully aware of this in Gdansk. (Are they as well aware of it in Warsaw?) Maciej Jankowski, new head of the Mazowsze Solidarity region, warns that people could come out onto the streets at any moment. Other regional chairmen share this view. The proverbial straw came in

the form of the "popiwek" [popular term for a new tax imposed on high-paying employers] parliamentary act, which was approved by the Sejm, signed by President Walesa (despite the fact that he criticized Balcerowicz during his election campaign for the introduction of the tax), and accepted—albeit with little enthusiasm and with a number of reservations arising from the analysis of the economic situation—by the Solidarity National Commission. They say that telex machines at the National Commission's Office for Economic Affairs can barely cope with printing out the messages arriving thick and fast from all over the place: Workers' Poland protests. "The absence of ties between wages and production output and productivity destroys workers' motivation, aggravates the recession, and causes a dramatic lowering of living standards," is the repeated message in the letters they receive from the regions. "We cannot possibly offer our support to a reform as muddled, as detached from practical economic requirements, and as potentially damaging as this."

There is just one demand: The National Commission must immediately ask the government for an urgent amendment of the new act. The way in which this question is resolved will become the sole criterion for an assessment of the National Commission's work to be carried out at the approaching congress. There is no need to do any reading between the lines here: It is a warning that, unless the Commission starts acting now, it will be swept away. The time for jesting is over.

Miners from the Copper Basin Solidarity region write that they support the Balcerowicz reform, but "the absence of some way of stemming inflation other than the 'popiwek' act creates a situation whereby enterprise Solidarity commissions have to face the danger of being unable to prevent unrest among work forces." According to Solidarity members at Poznan's Cegielski plant, "enterprise independence in wage planning is so limited as to prompt a sense of injustice and unfair treatment." Restrictive regulations block the way to a correct wage policy. "Enterprises which work efficiently are thwarted by unfavorable taxation changes;" circumstances are created which are conducive to a deterioration of state companies, while other types of economic entities are favored. Neither inflation nor unemployment can be overcome by the regulations of a tax act. Cegielski workers remind us: "It was here in June 1956 that the long and bloody road to freedom and independence began." Today tension is rising again.

"The protest is widespread: The whole union demands that "popiwek" be abolished or at least the act amended," Lech Kaczynski agrees. "We are operating under severe pressure, which does not allow for a frontal defense of the act." At the same time it is obvious—as union authorities realize clearly—that it will not be possible to do without some method of restricting wage increases.

As far as Kaczynski is concerned, one thing is incomprehensible in the attitude taken by the work forces: They demand that the act be changed, while at the same time defending the present system of state enterprises. As if they were unable to understand that the only way to escape is by running forward, through commercialization and privatization. The previous government dragged its feet over the reform of the state enterprise system, despite the high level of public confidence. The new one will find it much more difficult to reform anything: Various old interdependencies have been reestablished; people watch as a whole variety of joint partnership companies set up by members of the nomenklatura are gaining power and money, while others find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. In this way a spontaneous wave of resistance against privatization is born. People are saying that it looks as if they would die of starvation if they had to work for private employers.

The situation is additionally aggravated by the fact that enterprise directors collected colossal rewards from enterprise profits—and work forces have just found out about this. The lower the "popiwek" tax the employers have to pay, the less taken off the total profits—in other words, the more money left for the directors. The conclusion is simple: In the interest of lining their own pockets, bosses are in favor of keeping wages low.

Solidarity management takes a broader view of the problem. The reason the president signed the "popiwek" tax act was not because he was misled, as some insist, but because he was forced by circumstances to sign it. It would be easy to imagine what would have happened if wages had doubled from January. A further action strategy follows from this move: If Solidarity and the government sit down together for talks on the subject, the government should be presented with concrete recommendations for amending the act. It should be reformulated to link wages to productivity and quality of work. The relevant proposal will be prepared by Solidarity experts.

Yes to Privatization

The question is whether Solidarity's role in private enterprises will not be reduced. It is being curtailed even today, especially in small companies, which hardly encourages people to favor privatization. "This," Jankowski says, "is because there are no sanctions here for infringement of the trade unions law." Such sanctions should be introduced, even if informally. For example, enterprises which make the union's life difficult could be refused cooperation. In any case, the tactic of attrition will not get them very far: A divided work force will not work well, and the management will have no negotiating partner. Wise bosses know that this mechanism will sooner or later begin to operate to their own detriment. At the same time, it is the union's brief to protect employees' interests through joint participation in the management processes. There is one thing on which everyone agrees: We must get on with privatization before public enthusiasm and trust are completely worn away.

If we follow the hierarchy of issues to be tackled by the union, unemployment is the third problem. You could say that until now Solidarity's interest in unemployment has been expressed exclusively through a succession of resolutions. Of course, it is hard to find a miracle cure, but many countries have been attempting to counteract unemployment through a variety of methods. In Solidarity circles the talk is of restructuring the economy and introducing training schemes. However, it does not look as if the Union leaders are losing any sleep at all over the unemployment question. Nevertheless, we know already that there are regions in which help will be most sorely needed, especially in small towns that rely on a single enterprise for local employment. The trouble is that there is a shortage of specialist personnel to run training schemes. All in all, the union is suffering from a chronic shortage of a professional cadre.

Lech's Legacy

As usual, speculation abounds before the congress as to who will take over as the union chairman. Walesa wanted to hand the keys to his desk straight away to Bogdan Borusewicz, and he proposed this to the National Commission forum. However, the proposal was rejected as undemocratic—Borusewicz himself having had a hand in its rejection.

Whereas the union election during the Second Congress went smoothly, this time a most exciting contest can be expected, and it will probably involve more than one round. Everyone knows that, on the basis of his merits and service record alone, Borusewicz simply deserves the position of Solidarity chief. But are merits and a service record the most important criteria? The second candidate in line is Lech Kaczynski. An all-round professional union man, he has in fact been Solidarity's actual leader for a considerable time already. However, Kaczynski does not enjoy widespread popularity in the regions. In addition, two factors could damage his position even further: his brother Jaroslaw's function in the President's Office and his voice in the "pro-popiwek" vote. We know already that two Solidarity leaders from Silesia have got their eye on the post of chairman: A. Pietrzyk and T. Jedynak. Each has an outstanding record as a Solidarity activist, and each has been blessed with a talent for leadership. But are they popular enough to take over the office? From Wroclaw, another contestant, Krzakiewski, is getting ready to take up the challenge. He is the youngest of all the potential candidates, and we know less about him than about all the others, but he has already made himself known in two ways: He is hard-working and ambitious. His work on the National Commission involves responsibility for the union's branch sections. Naturally, J. Rulewski and A. Slowik will put their names up as candidates in the election. Of this pair, Slowik has a better chance; indeed, some are already taking bets that he will go through to the second round—especially since, according to reports reaching us from the regions, Slowik is the only candidate who has been running an election campaign and making methodical visits all round. Other names mentioned as possible candidates are those of S. Jurczak, the much-liked and highly valued head of Malopolska region; and S. Weglorz from Lubin, who has the advantage of not having dirtied his hands by supporting the "popiwek" law. In any case, union election night promises to be a long and exciting one (since the election will almost certainly not be concluded until dawn at least). Lech Kaczynski says that it will not be until the new chairman's election that the real extent of Walesa's power to influence the union's life becomes apparent.

As it is, the election of the new chairman could easily constitute the sole point on the congress agenda, but it is already obvious that it will be the first of many. It is certain that the congress will tackle the fundamental issue of political representation during the approaching parliamentary election: The stand taken by delegates could prove crucial for the union's future and its very existence.

The previous congress included in the Solidarity program a provision asserting the union's right to nominate a political representation to the Sejm. However, the program did not specify how broad, or how narrow, this representation should be. Today this point has generated a controversy. The majority of activists favor a future acceptance of the union's guideline—that is, a narrow representation, numbering some 30 or 40 deputies, which will allow the union to initiate legislative procedures in Sejm forum. Their contention is that Solidarity should remain a trade union (Kaczynski, Jurczak, Jankowski, Arkuszewski, and Slowik). The proponents of broad representation (among whom, unexpectedly, we find Borusewicz and Jedynak) want to retain a strong political influence (it has been implied in Gdansk that many adherents of this option would simply like to secure parliamentary seats themselves). It is clear that this would mean the end of the union. Solidarity would then become a political party and make a neat job of efficiently replacing the reds. Even now, certain regional Solidarity boards enjoy positions of strength in which they are regarded with a deference not dissimilar to that shown to former voivodship echelons. "It is awesome to predict what would happen if this view were to prevail: Solidarity would simply fall apart," Jankowski insists.

Finally, the issue of the union's branch organizations. There was a healthy fracas over this question back at the Second Congress. However, after a fierce struggle, the concept of local structures won the day. Nevertheless, there are some who still maintain that it will only be a matter of time before this system is inevitably transformed into a branch structure. After all, this is how the "new model" trade unions are arranged worldwide. "Here it turns out that the proponents of the branch system are those who apply the brakes and slow things down," Jurczak says.

The congress has been planned along economy lines: for just two days, without the option of extending it for an additional day. The very next day after its conclusion, the floor of the Oliwia Hall (which is where the delegates

will be deliberating) will be covered with ice in preparation for ice hockey championship games scheduled to be held there. However, judging from past congress experience, it is hard to imagine that the congress will restrict its deliberations to union issues alone. Consequently, I can already see in my mind's eye delegates with their shoes frozen fast to the slab of ice underfoot, but nevertheless casting their ballots furiously in a 12-hour round of voting over the parliamentary bill on the protection of the unborn child.

Bielecki Meets Private Farmers Solidarity Members

LD2702002891 Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 26—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki met here today with representatives of the Private Farmers' Solidarity to discuss possibilities for introducing guaranteed minimum procurement prices for staple farming produce, mechanisms protecting Polish agriculture and rural market against unfair foreign competition, and finances of agriculture, credits in the first place.

The prime minister confirmed the government's readiness to continue talks on these issues.

Following the meeting Prime Minister Bielecki told newsmen in part:

"The Private Farmers' Solidarity is a natural ally of the government because the union supports private ownership (of land) and is guided by the interests of private farming producers which are long-term rather than temporary.

"We must come to terms with the Farmers' Solidarity and find solutions satisfactory to both sides."

Leader of the Private Farmers' Solidarity Gabriel Janowski stated:

"For the first time we have met with understanding for farmers' problems. We suggested undertaking prompt, firm actions to prevent the deepening of recession in Polish agriculture."

Labor Minister Presents Stance on Current Strikes

LD2702103591 Warsaw PAP in English 2219 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 26—Minister of Labour and Social Policy Michal Boni presented his stance on the the current wave of strikes in Poland on Polish TV tonight, saying that one should resign from wildcat strikes in order to keep social peace and not to lose chances for negotiations.

The minister called a strike of the PKS busing enterprise, spreading all over Poland, as wildcat and recalled that the government had signed a joint communique with PKS Solidarity in early February as well as a similar agreement with unionists representing the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) in PKS enterprises.

In this situation I do not know with whom I should talk with union organizations that signed agreements three weeks ago? It seems to me a gentleman's agreement should be binding. I realize that not all postulates may be fulfilled in 1991 but some of them may be still discussed, Boni said. Let us talk with one another even about most difficult and most painful issues. But let us not forget about the border that the government cannot cross since it is marked by long-term social reasons, he added.

The minister announced that on Feb.27 the Transport Ministry would send invitations for a meeting to all the sides concerned. He stated that it was managers that should search for solutions at their own enterprises and negotiate issues with employees instead of burdening the government, the budget with their problems.

PRC's Qian Qichen Arrives for Talks

LD2702224691 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 27—Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China Qian Qichen arrived here today for an official visit, welcomed at the airport by his Polish counterpart Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

The programme of the 4-day visit provides for talks with Minister Skubiszewski concerning Polish-Chinese relations, with particular regard to economic issues.

The Chinese minister will be received by President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. 'Ie will also meet with Sejm (lower house) and Senate speakers, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski, respectively.

The Polish visit by the Chinese foreign minister is the first one held on such a level in nearly two years.

The planned talks will focus mainly on the present state and future of economic contacts between the two countries after they have accepted hard currency settlements in bilateral trade. The value of trade in 1990 reached 430 million U.S. dollars and was two times lower than the one obtained in the record year of 1986 when it exceeded 1 billion U.S. dollars.

Upon his arrival, Qian Qichen made a statement for the press in which he said, among other things, that during his stay here he would have a chance to meet new Polish leaders and exchange views on issues which were of interest for the two sides as well as to seek a road of further development of Chinese-Polish bilateral relations in order to consolidate mutual understanding and develop friendship and cooperation.

I am convinced that owing to perfect organization by the Polish hosts the goal of my visit will surely be accomplished, he stressed.

Walesa Meeting Focuses on Western Investment

LD2702171191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] President Lech Walesa has received Mrs. Barbara Piasecka-Johnson in the Belweder Palace. The conversation focused on the need for investing in Polish industry and Polish culture by Western business. The president thanked Mrs. Barbara Piasecka for saving the Gdansk shipyard at the end of the eighties. He emphasized that it then had great political importance.

Bielecki Visits Polam Enterprise

LD2702195491 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki is a guest in the Pila voivodship. A report by Jacek (Ciepiel):

[Ciepiel] Right after landing at the Pila airport, the prime minister, accompanied by members of the government and members of town and regional authorities, went to the Polam electrical lighting equipment plant. The prime minister changed the program of the visit, prepared by local management, and instead of visiting the modern glass plant, he immediately began specific talks on Polam's cooperation with the Dutch firm Phillips. As is known, the government yesterday took a decision on the issue of the sale of shares of this state treasury-owned company—which Polam has recently become—that makes negotiations with this renowned firm possible.

According to the prime minister, he came to Pila to acquaint himself with the program for the restructuring of the enterprise and find out how the government's decision of yesterday will be practically implemented.

Roman's State of the Nation Report Viewed

AU2702153291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1415 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/2/1991—Political analysts are quasi-unanimous in assessing Prime Minister Petre Roman's speech in a joint session of parliament on 26 February as truly the first report on the state of the nation in post-war Romania. We ran yesterday a summary of that report. Starting today we will carry excerpts on specific themes from that report the full title of which is "Government Programme for 1991 and the State of Reform."

The State of Reform

A certain particularity of the reform in this country has already become apparent. In several months alone there has been a fast-pace advancement in both the elaboration and the application of the programme, which is based on pragmatic realism, and the dogma of options between shock therapy, gradual therapy and miracle-working recipes has been removed. As for the process of reforming the Romanian economy almost the entire new legislative and institutional framework for a market economy was designed and even built in several months' time only.

As for ownership, private property was acknowledged and guaranteed in both industry and agriculture. The state is no longer the sole owner and the sole manager of production units and the former state-run enterprises which lacked patrimonial and decisional autonomy and were directly led by the government through an immense bureaucratic network and through the aberrant, voluntarist mechanism of a hypercentralized state—are turned or are about to turn into commercial companies limited by shares or into private companies.

The nerve centre of the whole reform was set in motion when prices had been liberalized and the privatization process had started, in conditions in which social security has been in operation despite the drop in production and in efficiency indicators.

The number of products distributed under decision by the state administration was reduced massively. On the other hand, a system whereby state subsidies were drastically cut was applied, and state subsidies are now granted only in cases that are well substantiated economically and socially and only for a period spanning four years, with annual reductions mandatorily effected. Furthermore, remaining subsidies were passed on away from producers to the consumers, so that producers should be compelled to cut back on their costs as much as possible to be competitive in the market.

Recently, we also initiated the liberalization of salaries, all while trying to brake inflationist tendencies through a well-balanced fiscal policy. Finally, we have started the phased transition to the convertibility of the leu.

We started with the difficult part, I think the most difficult part. And we now realize that before reaching the "smooth road" we have to tread sinuous, rough paths. We can note a new dynamics; people ponder over the problems of essential importance for a profitable operation of their own enterprises.

All this is possible because we are irreversibly committed to the promotion of the recognised assets of institutionalized democracy: Political pluralism, tolerance, human rights, a private property stipulated and safeguarded by the law, free initiative, free competition, free access to the mass media as a whole, freedom of conscience, the democratic and ethnic identity. The reform we worked out and we are promoting, whose core is the transition to a market economy, would be impossible outside democracy.

'Economic Crisis' Examined

AU2702170391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1524 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/2/1991—Naturally, there is no single recipe for such different problems. In the economy we simultaneously encounter two ineluctable processes of different origin and with distinct significance: on the one hand, there is the economic crisis inherited from the old regime and, on the other hand, there are the contradictions and the costs generated by the transition to a market economy. Theory and history show that, on the one hand, in periods of crisis and of dramatic growth of restrictive factors the state and the government get and should get more involved in the economy and that, on the other hand, the logic of the transition from a hypercentralized economy to a market economy implies that the state and the government should no longer administer the economic life palpably. Our transition to a market economy coincides with the deepest economic crisis ever in this country. This inevitably entails divergent tendencies and divergent opinions.

The true position of the government, which is completely different from the assertions it too often is compelled to hear, is that it cannot take refuge in the trenches of power. Which as a matter of fact, do not exist. The government has steadily cultivated openness and has had full confidence in the people's judgment. However, it is no doubt that transition cannot be a spontaneous process, that in the current stage the role of the state undergoes a qualitative change: it does not decline but it grows through the agency of economic and financial rather than administrative and bureaucratic levers. And the aim is not to return to the past, but to achieve the transition.

Indeed, in the final stage of dictatorship, almost the entire population experienced absolute pauperization. It is true that a structural crisis shook the world as a whole but while the developed market economies responded with a revolutionary adaptation, developing new technologies at a fast pace, abandoning entire sub-branches

whose efficiency was low and which consumed large amounts of energy, the centrally planned economies continued to maintain an anachronic production.

The Romanian economy, too, followed the path to bankruptcy. Great disbalances accumulated in industry and they will continue to show for a long time:

—The disproportionate growth of branches manufacturing production means and intermediate products as compared with those manufacturing final products;

—The creation of production units larger than the possibilities of ensuring domestic energy resources and of imports, in conditions in which the currency balance was forced;

—The orientation of industry towards branches consuming large amounts of energy and raw materials;

—The unacceptable degree of obsolescence of technologies and of fixed assets: a large part of existing installations, equipment and outfit were on the brink of failure;

—The suspension of the role of research and development in the promotion of the new and in using the benefits of the work of the nation's best minds, who were pushed to subordinate positions as "the lubricant of industry" in the best of cases and never as "the brain of industry";

—The distortion of economic efficiency indicators.

That is why, both at present and in the next few years, we maybe more than any other European country are faced with the exigencies of solving the structural crisis which took aberrant forms here.

Virtually, the crisis had all the articulations and coordination centers of the national economy in its grips and led to the sclerosis of the whole social organism and the abandonment of economic sense of reason which. During Ceausescu's rule, caused some sort of "laisser faire" so that in the last few years centralized planning itself was a mere chimera as it had grown unoperational in reality. This is one more reason why there is no way back for us, because we have nothing to go back to.

Roman Chairs Session on Socioeconomic Issues

AU2702211991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2100 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/2/1991—Wednesday, 27 February, Prime Minister Petre Roman chaired the government's weekly session.

Mr. Emeric Pataki, prefect of Harghita County, informed about the activity of the prefecture concerning the implementation of the government's reform programme.

In connection with the report on the activity of the office dwelling on the citizens' application, and the main aspects that resulted after the examination and the settlement of the complaints the citizens forwarded to the government, the prime minister recommended that the cases of corruption, fiscal evasion, illegal trade, profiteering and unfair competition should be solved in keeping with legal provisions, with greatest exigency by the authorized bodies as they are most serious social and economic threats to the population's everyday life, to the implementation of the reform programme itself.

The government debated a provisional report on the possibilities of financially regulating the losses and expenses registered by the state and cooperative farming units the previous years, by re- evaluating stocks and assets included.

The government adopted the resolution on the payment of the profit partaking and bonus funds for 1990.

Also approved, to be submitted to Parliament, was a bill on renaming settlements the names of which is linked to events or personalities of the communist dictatorship.

As for external relations, the government approved the proposals regarding the conclusion of a governmental convention on sending Romanian staff to the state of Israel to carry on activity under various contracts, as well as the accord on civil air services between the Government of Romania and the Government of Malta.

At the end of the session the government approved the resolutions whereby autonomous enterprises and commercial companies are set up in various areas of activity.

PNT-cd's Coposu on 'Campaign of Slander'

AU2702162491 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21 Feb 91 pp 1,3

[Interview with Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, by Doina Basca; place and date not given: "About Lies, Slander, and Securitate"]

[Excerpts] [Basca] Mr. President, we will talk about a subject that is of no political interest. Recently the papers of the National Salvation Front [FSN], along with the chauvinist and fascist press, as well as the Securitate publications placed in the service of the political power have begun a sustained campaign of slander and denigration against you.

[Coposu] You are wrong! This campaign did not just start; it is an ongoing process. It began during the night of 28-29 January 1990 when the whole propaganda and disinformation sector was mobilized and all multiplication systems within the government headquarters began to act to launch and spread the most terrible slanders, lies, and texts containing threats and slanders about me. Such pamphlets were even spread from helicopters. At the same time, attacks in some of the "official" papers started (and have not yet stopped).

[Basca] It is known that you yourself have never resorted to personal attacks against the country's president, prime minister, and you have never mentioned any names in your statements, articles, and interviews. I know that all your statements deal with principled issues and objective criticism, without referring to people. How do you explain the lack of elegance in the reaction of the political leadership?

[Coposu] As far as I am concerned, it is a principle to which I stick. As for the others, it is a problem of "fair play." As a matter of fact, the initiative and "valuable recommendations" could be the work of secondary echelons among the ranks of which people lacking balance and decency, extremists and irresponsible elements, desirous of asserting themselves, infiltrated, as is often the case in periods of confusion. [passage omitted]

[Basca] Do you believe that there are professional liars, in writing or by word of mouth?

[Coposu] Certainly! Leaving aside the condemnable "authorities" who are lying deliberately for the sake of certain interests, there are people who are so obsessed with the irresistible desire to lie that they are unable to say the truth no matter what their efforts. [passage omitted] In communism, everyone—beginning with the prime minister down to the last individual—is used to lying. [passage omitted] People are used to hide their thoughts by lying. They lie extemporaneously, especially if it is profitable. Lying is practiced even at the highest-ranking levels. Lying is practiced from official rostrums, in official statements, and in the press. No one cares when such lies are uncovered. They are shrugged off with a smile and the incident is forgotten with cynicism. Communism has created the an air of ill faith.

[Basca] You have spoken about lying practiced in communist regimes. What is the situation in our country?

[Coposu] We are living in cryptocommunism.

[Basca] Do you keep track of the slanders involving you or the curses often addressed to you?

[Coposu] I have no time for such things. [passage omitted]

[Basca] Are you not affected by the slander and lies coming from the so-called "high-ranking" circles?

[Coposu] Circles that launch slanders or practice lies cannot be viewed as "high-ranking." [passage omitted] We are going through a stage of general confusion and mistrust, a stage in which the receptivity to untruth of systematically disinformed people is extraordinary. [passage omitted]

[Basca] Nevertheless, we would like you to clarify certain useful things. It is said that during the communist dictatorships you led a comfortable life abroad.

[Coposu] I did not leave our country's soil for a single hour from 1938 up to the revolution. As a matter of fact it would have been difficult to be in communist prisons, to live where you are told, and be abroad at the same time.

[Basca] Neocommunist pamphlets stated that you were married to Mrs. Doina Cornea.

[Coposu] I have heard about that. I have great admiration for Mrs. Doina Cornea whom I view as the symbol of our anticommunist resistance. [passage omitted]

[Basca] There was much ado about your estates which the FSN propaganda assessed as amounting to hundreds of hectares throughout half of our country's counties.

[Coposu] I do not have and never had a fathom of land. [passage omitted]

[Basca) Do you own a house?

[Coposu] Unfortunately, I do not. [passage omitted]

[Basca] Do you have an automobile?

[Coposu] I have no car. To move around, I use my friends' cars.

[Basca] Do you get paid for the political position you hold?

[Coposu] No. I believe it would be improper to accept payment for the activity I perform out of devotion to the ideas I serve.

[Basca] Even papers with claims of seriousness stated that you distributed dollars, blue jeans, and sneakers to sympathizers.

[Coposu] I know. That was a lie that was in vogue during the election campaign. [passage omitted] If the sums of money that were mentioned were added up, I believe they would suffice to eradicate the terrible economic crisis through which we are going.

[Basca] It is also said that before the revolution you attended the Stefan Gheorghiu Institute and that you were chief of the labor organization department.

[Coposu] That is absurd. [passage omitted]

[Basca] You have been blamed for "cooperation" with the communist Securitate.

[Coposu] I think I have been the most interrogated political adversary of communism in our country. After I was released from prison and my enforced residence in Baragan was lifted, I was constantly under the strictest police surveillance and my correspondence was always censored. [passage omitted] My home was searched dozens of times on the basis of mandates issued by the Military Prosecutor's Office. On such occasions, hundreds of writings, notes, correspondence, essays, and books were confiscated. These materials are now at the Securitate although I have repeatedly asked that they be returned to me. [passage omitted] I think that from 1945-1989, time during which I was under the surveillance of the communist Securitate, (including the long period of my detention) I had the privilege of becoming

acquainted with more than one hundred interrogators (generals, colonels, and majors). [passage omitted] I was suspected of sending clandestine information to foreign radio stations and "capitalist" embassies. [passage omitted]

[Basca] Were you ever given any explanation about the special "attention" you received on behalf of the repressive apparatus?

[Coposu] Yes, repeatedly. I was accused of having a clandestine political party that had been dissolved by law; that I was organizing plots; that I was training former party members for dangerous actions; and that I posed a constant threat for public order. [passage omitted]

[Basca] What can you tell us about the ways of the so-called interrogators?

[Coposu] Their roles were assigned by top officials. Some were stern, spoke impolitely, made serious threats, and used trivial language interspersed with brutal words, and abuse; others were polite and used a more urban language; while many of them tried to be correct to the extent to which their profession permitted them to be like that. [passage omitted] I am convinced that there were honest people among them who hated the regime. [passage omitted]

[Basca] When did the communist Securitate abandon its methods of violence and torture?

[Coposu] As far as I am concerned, I think after the Patrascanu [post World-War II political figure] trial during which they tried—through all kinds of means, but without results—to obtain false and indicting testimony against him.

[Basca] When were you detained the last time?

[Coposu] In 1980 during a staged espionage case against a political friend. [passage omitted]

[Basca] Did your family members have to suffer at the hands of the Securitate?

[Coposu] All of them, without exception. [passage omitted] Briefly put, this is about all I have to say about my 47 years of "cooperation" with the Securitate.

[Basca] Did you encounter any interrogators after the revolution?

[Coposu] By accident. I suspect that now they are active in other departments. I do not hold a grudge against them. Each of them did what they thought was the duty for which they were paid and given ranks. Although it seems unnatural, I believe that even meeting my former interrogators would not disturb me any more.

[Basca] Thank you for this instructive dialogue which, I am sure, will arouse the interest of numerous uninformed people.

Government Decision Disbands Mining Companies

AU2702153391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1420 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/2/1991—According to a recent decision of the Romanian Government, the mining industrial centrals of Baia Mare and Deva, the mining complex of Gura Humorului, the rare metals, the salt and non-metals, the special equipment industrial centrals, the leather trust and the industrial central for the recuperation and capitalisation of reusable materials, all based in Bucharest, are thereby disbanded. Their assets shall be divided and handed down to commercial companies and public corporations emerging from restructured economic units formerly subordinated to the said centrals. If such centrals happen to be in partnership with foreign capital investors, their nominal capital shall be distributed to their former component units. These units shall also take over the debit and the credit balance of the centrals, as well as their personnel according to requirements.

Former Politburo Members' Trial Resumes

AU2702152891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1425 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/2/1991—During the February 26 session of the trial of former members of the Communist Party [PCR] Central Committee Politburo who are accused of genocide, the court heard the defendants who contested the recording of the December 17, 1989 teleconferences. The tapes had been previously listened to during a public session and the defendants had been allowed to study the verbatim record.

Acknowledging that the recording reflects the content of the three teleconferences organized following the outbreak to revolt in Timisoara, the defendants said it confirmed the statements they had made during their investigation and those made by certain witnesses. Among the arguments invoked to this effect was the fact that Nicolae Ceausescu had presented developments in Timisoara as a plot by foreigners against Romania. This was the only information they had. The former dictator had not talked about working people's demonstrations, as the indictment reads, but only about destabilizing actions by declasse elements jeopardizing public order and the country's territorial integrity. He had also suggested that political means of struggle not repressive, military means should be used for defusing tension, and insisted on the observance of the Constitution and other laws. The issues set forth by Nicolae Ceausescu during the teleconferences had not been discussed in the previous Politburo meetings; he did not speak on behalf of the Politburo but on his own behalf; the orders he referred to, which he did not detail or explain, originated from him, as they had not been given in any Politburo meeting.

Defendants Paul Niculescu Mizil and Ioan Totu also set forth their opinions about the nature of the December 1989 events.

*** Intelligence Service Official Interviewed**

91P20211A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 8, 9 Feb 91

[Interview with Maj. Gen. Mihai Stan, first deputy director of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], by Stefan Mitroi and Aurel Perva; place and date not given]

[8 Feb pp 1, 3]

[Text] [TINERETUL LIBER] If you have no objections, General, we would like to begin our interview in a rather unusual manner.

[Stan] All right, but let's hear the questions.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Haven't you heard them already? We formulated them at the editorial staff's offices before we came here.

[Stan] Is this the first question?

[TINERETUL LIBER] Yes, it is.

[Stan] I gather that you want to find out if we are still carrying out intercepts and bugging.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Yes, I do.

[Stan] The Romanian Intelligence Service proposes to carry out such activities only on the basis of the law. According to the powers, functions, and tasks assigned to the Service in Decree No. 191 of 26 March 1990 and those which are stipulated in the draft laws on the national security of Romania and on the organization and operation of the Romanian Intelligence Service, which will soon be discussed in the Parliament, such operations will be carried out only on the basis of a mandate issued by the appropriate judicial organs. The intercepting of telephone conversations and the restriction, in any other manner, of basic rights and freedoms can be carried out only if there is factual evidence of the existence of threats to national security and this must be done in accordance with legal authorization.

[TINERETUL LIBER] In connection with what you have said so far, is the Romanian Intelligence Service bugged by anyone?

[Stan] Bugging has its place. Unfortunately, as the director of the Romanian Intelligence Service stressed in his statement to Parliament, there is serious concern that certain means of communication might be used illegally by certain persons or organizations. From the technical point of view there are many possibilities and facilities for the interception of conversations by any person who has a minimum of knowledge and the necessary equipment, equipment which is easily available. Although I cannot say categorically that, at the present time, the Romanian Intelligence Service is not bugged. This is because every espionage service in the world which is respected has, among its objectives, the intercepting of the communications of its adversaries. These are the rules of the game and it is our duty to protect ourselves and society, in general.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Are there any other intelligence organizations in Romania besides the SRI?

[Stan] There are intelligence services specifically related to certain ministries, respectively, the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior. Prior to the approval of the law on national security—the law which will regulate the issue of national security and stipulate very clearly which state organs are entitled to set up intelligence services—surprises cannot be ruled out. Actually, there are signs that such services have been set up to carry out activities for certain organizations and private individuals.

[TINERETUL LIBER] We have heard that some political groups have their own intelligence services—for example, the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]. Is this true?

[Stan] Responding to your question involves a great amount of responsibility. Undoubtedly, it is normal for each political organization to carry on a certain sort of intelligence activity, in order to know what is happening in one domain or another and to allow it to formulate political strategies in regard to the objectives which it pursues according to a stated program and to the benefit of the respective party. If the activity of an intelligence service conflicts with the norms of law and, especially, with the fundamental interests of the country, it would be illegal to organize this service. Since such a service cannot be established and cannot carry out its activity in accordance with the principles and the methods specific to intelligence services in the state, we have not made any effort to determine whether or not such bodies exist. The SRI does not collect information on the basis of ideological or political criteria or according to party, religious, or any other type of interests, and it will not do so in the future, except in cases in which activities which might threaten national security are carried out under the cover of these interests. This is the practice in all democratic countries.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Under whose jurisdiction is the Romanian Intelligence Service?

[Stan] According to the decree which I mentioned [Decree No. 181 of 26 March 1990] the SRI is subordinate to the presidential institution and this is not by chance. Basically, this subordination is also stipulated in the draft laws to which I referred, both for reasons related to constitutional law and for practical reasons of a political nature. The rule is that the political grouping which wins the elections forms a government. Therefore,

the subordination of the SRI to the government would mean that an institution which must carry on its activity in the service of the country and in the general interest of society would be implicitly subordinate to the victorious political party. Under these conditions, it would seem normal for the SRI to be subordinated to the presidency so that, as an apolitical service, it would be able to put into practice political impartiality.

[TINERETUL LIBER] We began the interview with some matters of a general nature, regarding the organization of the institution, but we would like to dwell on the "general," you yourself, the first deputy director of the SRI, and ask who you are, what you have done, and what you were doing before 22 December 1989, since we read, more than once, in the press that you were a Securitate general at that time and, according to what we know, this is not quite true.

[Stan] Your question reminds me of what had become almost a refrain immediately after the Revolution: "Who are you, Mr. So-and-So?" I tell you I am only an ordinary man in this country. I was not a Securitate general. I was not General Macri's deputy. I was not the right-hand man in the former Directorate II. As for my biography, I think that it has absolutely no significance in relation to my present tasks which I desire, with my whole heart, to carry out as the national interests demand, so that the elements of the operation of an intelligence service under the conditions of a law-governed state can be implemented in Romanian society.

[TINERETUL LIBER] General, although we do not have an intelligence service, we are quite well-informed. We know that you are the author of a number of literary works. Perhaps you would like to give us more details about them.

[Stan] I think that these things are less important and I believe that the time will come when I will write my memoires. Therefore, I would ask that we restrict the interview to matters of interest to you related to the SRI.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Nevertheless, we are insisting on this because we cannot separate people who head an institution from the institution as such.

[Stan] And I also insist on telling you that the institution is not run by one person but, as is normal, by a directing council and I am, first of all, one of the members of this council, and then, the first deputy director of the SRI. Therefore, I do not promote any personal policy, so to speak. The qualities and elements which structure my personality or, rather, which define my being, do not come from the value which the function bestows intrinsically.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Let us admit that you are modest and let us go on to another question: If you were to evaluate the SRI from its establishment up to the present, what would you single out? Tell us a few of its most important achievements.

[Stan] Please be more specific, if possible.

[TINERETUL LIBER] So, the SRI has been established. Most of us admit that this was necessary. What has it done, in concrete terms, which it can boast about?

[Stan] According to a principle which is generally accepted in intelligence work, the intelligence services are prohibited from boasting and when they make their achievements public they do so only because of a fortuitous situation or in a manner which cannot be submitted to public scrutiny. This must be done while keeping in mind the need to keep secret an activity which must be carefully protected but which, at the same time, and, especially in a law-governed state, must be under the scrutiny of a democratic organism. If we were to make a balance sheet, we should also mention, first of all, that the SRI was established during a rather difficult period in the development of the democratic process, in the sense that Romania has not been exempted and is not exempted from the action of destabilizing factors. Therefore, the SRI, ever since its establishment, has had to wage a head-on attack on the major problems related to the protection of the fundamental interests of the country. I have in mind, on the one hand, the fact that, in one form or another, a number of values whose loss could be irreparable are in danger and continue to be in danger and, on the other hand, the reality that, in an almost unexplainable manner, there has been a loss of the awareness of the truth that the actual secret of state activity is a value which should be strongly defended.

I will give you an example from the field of economics. Although Romania is not a great economic power and although the state of the Romanian economy is not among the best, we do have some peak areas, especially in scientific research and advanced technologies which, unfortunately, at the present time, have very little protection. In this regard, we should note the comment of a foreign businessman who visited the Bucharest International Fair. He intended to invest capital in Romania but he abandoned this idea because there was no guarantee that the manufacturing process for some of the products which his firm would be producing and selling in Romania would be kept secret.

We have oriented a considerable part of our activity in this direction, attempting to limit, but not to the extent which we would have desired, actions which might seriously jeopardize the future development of the country and the extremely necessary action of constructing a law-governed state and a truly democratic world, the world in which our children will live.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Do you have any information about the activity of any possible spies in Romania?

[Stan] On this matter, you will not receive any definite, immediate, or direct reply from any counterespionage service, and the SRI is such an organization.

At the moment in which the espionage activities and elements known to us constitute evidence which can and must be handled by the justice system, we will proceed accordingly.

As for the activity of collecting information on Romanian territory, this is a real occurrence despite all the efforts and even the advantages of distorting or diminishing the danger which, I repeat, exists and it is very real.

It is good to know, for anyone who is curious, that no counterespionage service is interested in exposing spies, if it feels it is able to control their activity and to ensure that only the information they need gets to them.

If I were to go on in detail about the technique of intelligence, I would have to point out that this involves the combining of three forms of action which take place simultaneously—intelligence, counterintelligence, and disinformation. The activity of every intelligence service, from the beginning of history, has been based on this triad.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Has the Gulf war imposed any additional tasks upon you?

[Stan] The Gulf war has imposed additional tasks on counterintelligence services everywhere and therefore, on the SRI, also. In addition to the economic problems, the Gulf war has imposed on us a number of difficult tasks in the area of the prevention of terrorism and extremist actions, especially, assassinations or any other activities which can endanger the lives of Romanians and foreigners or threaten the proper development of the activity of diplomatic missions and other foreign offices accredited to Romania.

[TINERETUL LIBER] In this regard, do you have any information which proves the existence of any danger connected with the presence of terrorists or the possibility of future acts of terrorism here in Romania?

[Stan] It is your obligation as journalists to be prying, perseverant, and offensive, and it is my obligation to respond only what is necessary and when it is necessary. If I were to reply in the affirmative, I might create anxieties, fears, insecurity, and panic. If I were to reply in the negative or in an ambiguous manner, I would be a laughing stock. The response to this question is similar to the response to the question about the existence of spies. When the matters become public and it is necessary for them to become public, they will become public.

The danger of terrorism always exists and it is an international danger today. There is an organization plan in the realm of terrorism, a central plan coordinating terrorist networks and we cannot consider that Romania is exempt from this curse, nor can we say that our country is a direct target of terrorist actions. We must be ready at all times to respond to any dangers which can imperil the lives of anyone on the territory of Romania.

[TINERETUL LIBER] General, we know the specific nature of your institution. To tell the truth, we expected very short, affirmative or negative, responses to the last two questions. That's all!

[Stan] Mr. Mitroi, I know that you are provoking me but I like intelligent provocations and, therefore, I will continue. A very brief response in the domain of intelligence involves certain risks and responsibilities, especially when the conversation does not take place under secure conditions, because it is a matter of a conversation which becomes public and, therefore, there must be a certain nuancing of the response, since this domain—terrorism—is a very sensitive one, and in light of the conditions which appeared in Romania both as a result of the December 1989 events and later, when weapons disappeared or were stolen, including those at the Capital Police headquarters during the events of June 1990.

The unrecovered weapons are in someone's possession. For what purposes, for what intentions? At the same time, violence has become a daily presence, not only in countries with a high degree of democracy but also in Romania where there are elements which can be agitated and incited to commit terrorist acts for various reasons.

Therefore, it is not a question of whether or not problems or dangers exist. We have information which prompts us to carry out intensive activities to prevent and combat terrorism.

In this area, we have better cooperation, but not as good as we would like, with bodies specializing in antiterrorism in other countries. We have constant collaboration, one might say on a daily basis, to guarantee protection against terrorism for units in Romania belonging to various states.

[TINERETUL LIBER] General, if we are not asking too much, we would like your opinion on the latest statements of the well-known gentleman Silviu Brucan. What can you tell us about the existence of terrorists? Is it in someone's interest to keep their names secret?

[Stan] As for the statements of Professor Brucan, I must say, but not out of a desire to escape the SRI's responsibility for exposing terrorist elements, that our institution was set up much later, when the material element, which could permit the discovery of those terrorists who killed at the time of the Revolution, was the responsibility of and under the jurisdiction of other state bodies. I must say, however, that we are concerned with this matter and that we are carrying out activities to expose those elements which have tried, by such actions, to oppose the Revolution and to stop the progress of history.

[TINERETUL LIBER] In connection with the Gulf war, some decrees on relations with foreigners have been reinstated. To the extent to which it is possible, we would like you to briefly comment on this matter.

[Stan] The manner in which states organize their antiterrorist activity is a strictly internal matter. In

Romania, however, it is no less true that, unfortunately, a number of regulations of major importance for national security have fallen into disuse or have not been applied, if they have not actually been abrogated. This is obviously in opposition to the principle of the law-governed state. For example, in regard to the obligation of every citizen to report that he houses a foreigner or that he carries out certain activities with foreigners, if we make a parallel between what happens in our country and in other states, we would be able to discover the real dimensions of this issue.

For example, for the purpose of preventing acts of terrorism, the American administration has given specialized organs the right to detain and examine any foreigner or United States citizen, which cannot be done in Romania today. Such a measure is not a chance measure, in light of the danger of terrorism, when, with weapons or explosives which are impossible to detect by conventional means, assassination attempts or destructive actions with the most serious consequences are being carried out. From this point of view, there have been no measures like those in other countries, such as searches without waiting for warrants from judicial organs. Even in neighboring countries it is possible to search the domiciles or residences of citizens without their concurrence or even in their absence. If you wish, you can consider these actions to be violations of basic human rights, but if they are necessary for the elimination of some dangers such as the danger of terrorism, they are allowed since, no one and no place in the world can escape or underestimate threats of this type. This must be well understood.

[TINERETUL LIBER] General, since you have been in your position, have the lives of any of our officials been in danger, from the lowest level up to the president of the country?

[Stan] Assassination attempts are inscribed in the broader context of destabilizing actions and, in all states of the world, measures are being taken to protect people who hold such positions. Measures to protect and guard persons who, as targets of assassination attempts, would endanger national security and law and order require great attention.

As for the existence of assassination attempts against some people in our country during the time that the SRI has been in existence, I reply to you that if they did not achieve the desired form or end because of the measures taken, we cannot fail to take into account the dangers which have existed and which, unfortunately, might still exist.

[TINERETUL LIBER] The government has promoted a legislative initiative which we consider to be important, that of proposing to the Parliament the purging of former Securitate workers from the state apparatus and other institutions. How do you interpret this initiative and, at the same time, can you tell us if the proposal also pertains to the SRI?

[Stan] In this regard, it is natural that in new times, the people who are planning these new times should be new people, without vestiges of the past ways of thinking, without outmoded mentalities, which, in certain conditions can entail manifestations which endanger democracy. Therefore, in this sense, the measures seem to me to be beneficial.

As for the Intelligence Service apparatus, it was established on the basis of a very careful examination which continues in the present. For the very reason that, since it is a really new body, which has not taken over the assets or liabilities of the former Securitate, it has not been and will not be put in the service of any political grouping or of any interests other than national interests.

[TINERETUL LIBER] The way in which the legislative initiative has been presented gives the impression that there will no longer be any distinction between the former Securitate cadres who have been and still are useful and those who have been removed. The result is that, in a mechanical manner, elimination on the basis of a single criterion—membership in the former Securitate—is proposed. What is your opinion?

[Stan] Such actions would, in one way or another, have only negative effects. Why? For the simple reason that, regardless of the situation, those specialists who have not been compromised, who are loyal and attached to the ideals of democracy should not be and cannot be eliminated. Even if they belonged to a certain organization, these people only did their duty, in a proper and honest way, as is still the case now. Since, reducing things to the absurd, if a person did not belong to such an institution "from the beginning," it does not mean that he can be rehabilitated to carry on activity in the new democratic institutions, if, because of his behavior, his personal traits, and other elements which define his personality, he would not be of use to the democratic process in the country or the institution itself.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Do you think this legislative initiative is, perhaps, not alien to certain political interests of the moment?

[Stan] Since the SRI is an apolitical organism, political aspects are of no concern to it.

We have a great number of problems: in preserving political equidistance, in establishing the concept and methdology of work which will permit the functioning of an intelligence and counterintelligence service under conditions of democracy, under conditions in which, on the one hand, national interests must be protected and, on the other hand, the basic rights and freedoms of the citizen must be guaranteed.

Therefore, please understand that I am not able to respond to such a question since, as of now, I do not know whether such a purge would serve any party interests. However, I believe that the idea which is circulating in connection with the establishment of moral tribunals is only a return to the past, to the 1947

period, when some of today's promoters of such ideas sought the establishment of such courts and the heads of "X" or Y."

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[TINERETUL LIBER] In 1982, if my memory does not deceive me, on a visit to the Philippines, Pope John Paul II said that there are moments in which there is a conflict between the interests of state security and human rights and this conflict should always be resolved in favor of state interests. What do you think about this statement?

[Stan] Things are very clear as long as the unrestricted exercise of civil rights and freedoms, which will be stipulated in the new Romanian Constitution and which are provided for in international conventions and in the constitutions of all democratic states, do not harm, in any way, national interests and the values which define national integrity and sovereignty or collective interests, since any harm to these interests or values is an illegal act which should be prohibited and punished. But, in equal measure, on the basis of fundamental rights and freedoms, activities which cause damage to the rights of other persons, to the collective, or to the nation cannot be tolerated. In this case, the conflict can be resolved only by prohibiting whatever endangers the collective interest. Therefore, there is no dichotomy and I am in agreement with the Sovereign Pontiff!

Let me give you an example. In a number of democratic states there are parties which carry out activities which could be called extremist. It is a fundamental right to express a political opinion. However, at the moment in which these parties try to put their ideology into practice—I am thinking about the Nazi Party in the United States—things become clearer, since there is a move from the area of ideology to the penal area. The essence of the matter is that the right to political, religious, philosophical, and other choices is one thing and the exercise of these rights to the detriment of the interests of the nation or of the state is another thing.

We would like very much to respect the political equidistances which should be obligatory for all parties, to an equal extent. I am saying this because we have seen signs that some groupings intend to establish and sponsor, within the SRI, leagues, committees, or associations, supposedly apolitical, but actually with completely different aims. We cannot agree to this and we will not allow any kind of interference in the SRI by any party.

[TINERETUL LIBER] General, everyone, even a part of the press, links the creation of the Romanian Intelligence Service with the Tirgu-Mures events. This is the basis for the idea that certain elements of the former Securitate created destabilization problems there to justify the establishment of your institution.

[Stan] The moment of the establishment of the SRI coincided with the events in Tirgu-Mures but, in no way does it have its origin in the events which occurred there. At that time, our young democracy, for all practical purposes, did not have any organism which would protect its interests in the intelligence area. If we judge matters correctly, it must be recognized that a person who is warned, and, therefore, informed, is half defended. Our young democracy was in a situation in which it could not be warned about the actions which were underway on one side and on the other. We are taking into account the fact that the danger to democracy, regardless of its form or color, does not matter as long as the result is the same.

As for the events in Tirgu-Mures and the appearance of the SRI, there is no connection between these two things. As for the events in Tirgu-Mures, since the SRI did not exist when these occurred, we could only carry on a "post-factum" intelligence activity, and in this regard, the legally constituted parliamentary commission also was not able to bring things to a conclusion in due time and, for this reason, you can see what is happening today.

It will be determined whether or not former Securitate officers were involved and it is normal that the guilty parties will be held responsible. However, this does not involve the SRI in any way. I would like to say, however, that as long as things are not explained and the whole truth is not told, light cannot be shed on the whole matter and the hotbeds of misunderstanding cannot be extinguished. The mass media contributed to the distorted or even malevolent presentation of what happened in Tirgu-Mures and this was instilled in the minds of the public in some countries where the events were presented from partisan positions.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Military sources provided information on the capture of groups of Hungarians during military maneuvers in Transylvania. Does the SRI know anything about the existence of such groups?

[Stan] This matter and these signs of the existence of some paramilitary groups are not new. In the final analysis, there are political orientations which do not rule out the use of force as a political weapon, an element which fundamentally conflicts with the principles of a law-governed, democratic state. These are not the only signs of this nature, but the way in which such information reached you must be verified, in light of the fact that the Army has its own services for protecting intelligence. It is certain that the events of June 1990 demonstrated that the use of force has not been ruled out, especially the use of violent means for attaining so-called political ideals.

[TINERETUL LIBER] You are a young institution. Thinking about the future, we would like to ask you how a young person who is still in school would be able to work for the SRI. Is there any special training?

[Stan] We are seriously concerned with the training and preparation of capable cadres, true specialists in the areas of counterintelligence and antiterrorism and protection of constitutional order.

This possibility is open to all young people who have the qualities needed for this work, especially since the hypocritical principles for selecting cadres for work in the former Securitate have been abandoned once and for all. I am not making any parallel because it would be false. I would like to say, however, that by means of our system of education, respectively, the Intelligence Faculty in the Police Academy, we train cadres for the SRI [several words illegible]. This faculty provides a complex training in intelligence work. In addition to the specialized training it is necessary to have a basic knowledge of the law, a fluency in at least one foreign language, a knowledge of sociology, psychology, data processing, and computer technology, since the use of automatic data processing has become an absolute necessity in our activity. In addition, intelligence workers are obliged to have a higher level of general culture.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Do you organize retraining courses?

[Stan] Yes, we have specialists in the structures of the Romanian Intelligence Service but a real counterspy is developed only after some 10 years of activity.

Then, under the conditions of the law-governed state it is necessary to have juridical knowledge about the way in which an intelligence service can operate in strict conformity with respect for individual rights and freedoms. I would like to say that the two draft laws presented to the Parliament note, in detail, the way in which this activity will be carried out, so that no one will be able to cause damage to basic rights and their free exercise; rights which, under conditions of democracy, can be exercised only on the basis of the law.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Let us conclude our discussion, which has been interesting to us, and, we hope, to the readers, by making a final remark. There is a certain similarity between our institutions and yours, between the SRI and the press, since both work with information. Of course, the information is completely different. So, what is your opinion about the way in which we, the people in the press, from all political orientations, use information in the service of the truth and of the common good, in whose service, from what I now know, you are also acting?

[Stan] If I were to take a short trip into the history of intelligence work, I could say that the best intelligence officers were journalists because the field has a great number of tangents.

[TINERETUL LIBER] God forbid! Please state that, as far as we are concerned, we do not have any such connections with you.

[Stan] No, no! I am referring to the fact that the field of activity, namely, the search for information, is the same for an intelligence officer and for a journalist.

Basically, a journalist is a person who seeks information to offer it to the public. The difference is that the intelligence officer seeks information to protect national security. But, it should be remembered that the journalist's information might often have the same finality. However, it can also have meanings of another nature.

From this point of view it would not be a bad idea if the information circulated through the mass media were to be more carefully checked and treated with more responsibility by those who circulate it. This is because a number of denials have been necessary because so-called intellingence or half-intelligence has been put into circulation. There were even untruths or items directed toward creating a certain opinion, and an opinion can determine attitudes and reactions. The use of information, not in the sense of limiting it, but without responsibility and with lack of objectivity, can cause harm. Since Romania is in the midst of the process of the consolidation of democracy, it is very good for the media to use information constructively and not for the sake of the spectacular, which, as is well known, lasts only a few minutes until the sensational is consumed.

[TINERETUL LIBER] We assure you that we will take these suggestions into account and we would like to believe that you will take our suggestions into account, the ones that are justified and welcome, of course.

And finally, we thank you for your kindness in granting us this interview.

[Stan] I have something to add, in conclusion, if you will permit me.

The Romanian Intelligence Service is an open organ. We do not restrict access to information and dialog with the media and, therefore, we want to be concerned and we are concerned that the results of our activities will bear fruit in the press because, as I mentioned, a man who is warned is half defended and the country must be defended not only by the SRI but by all its citizens and public opinion must be informed in order to know what it has to do.

For example, the proliferation of serious phenomena causing damage to the national wealth, from simple business to "legal" contracts, can seriously imperil not only democracy but also the normal life of society, since such harmful activities have long-term effects. We have seen that television, as well as you, is concerned with such issues and I believe that, in this area, we will be able to carry out a mission of honor for the present and future of our country.

In my turn, I express my thanks and ask you to convey my best wishes to all the staff and the readers of TINERETUL LIBER.

Steel Industry 'Encountering Great Difficulties'

AU2802103991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0956 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/2/1991—The Galati steel plant is encountering great difficulties due to the

shortage of raw materials and energy. The plant cannot furnish a number of steel products to other industrial sectors and units, such as the Galati Shipyard which, short of the necessary quantities of steel plates, has to stop work, with all due social and economic consequences for its 32,000 shipbuilders and their families, to say nothing of the losses the yard incurs with its foreign partners from USSR and China, whose contracts it cannot honour.

It is feared that the situation may trigger labour conflicts whose impact is hard to asses.

Hungarian Foreign Minister's Statement Criticized

AU2702205491 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 21 Feb 91 p 8

[R. Caplescu article: "Mr. Jeszenszky Continues Advising Us...."]

[Text] As a matter of fact, the statements made by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva should not surprise us. They are part of a well-known distorted view, according to which "human rights" mean first and foremost the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania. It is true that in his statements the head of Hungarian diplomacy admits condescendingly that "the human rights situation in Romania has improved in the past year"; however, immediately referring to the issues included in the Voyame report, he quickly adds that in our country the rules of "human rights" (read this as the rights of the Hungarian minority) continue to be violated.

This assertion distorts the truth included in the aforementioned report that says that the situation of "respect for human rights in Romania has improved considerably" (a qualifier that is easily passed over by the minister), and further mentions that "there are still many things to be done." It is natural that the observance of human rights in a certain country (and not only the rights of a part of the respective country's population) is not a sudden process, because a number of conditions have to be met, starting with legal actions and ending with the practical measures that have to be taken—something that cannot be achieved from one day to the next.

Can Hungary, just like any other country that went through the traumatic experience of the communist dictatorship, honestly state that it has nothing else to do in this respect? As far as Romania is concerned, our concern to make the human rights—including the rights of the national minorities—become a viable reality, not only an word; it has been and continues to be a consistent concern and its results can be seen by any well-disposed person. Certainly, we are far from pretending that everything has been solved but the decision to honor our signature on United Nations and CSCE documents as well as documents of other international bodies is unflinching. From this fact and to the statement that "people are persecuted with an exaggerated violence" and that "manifestations and opinions are forcefully stifled," that is "discrimination of national minorities continues," is a long way to go. This is the path that divides the truth from fiction and good will from ill will. The meaning of the proposal to the Geneva Commission to maintain the "warning" and the "assistance" (from what kind of ideological arsenal is this term borrowed?) to Romania is extremely obvious.

Certainly, there are many more things that could be said in connection with what the Hungarian minister thought fit to say in Geneva; however, one thing cannot be ignored. Namely that the obsessive insistence on human rights, exclusively applied to a certain national minority in the detriment of the majority or ignoring the fact that this majority also has rights, ultimately risks achieve contrary effects. That is, it will do more harm than good to help the climate of harmony and good understanding that should prevail among the inhabitants of a country, regardless of nationality, as well as among neighboring countries. The more so since, in accordance with their political and geographical condition, these countries are bound by many common interests.

Republican Officials Assess Sarajevo Talks

AU2802125291 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 91 p 3

[Unattributed report on statements made by participants in the SFRY Presidency session in Sarajevo on 22 February]

[Text] **Momir Bulatovic: Some Progress**

What is involved is not only a confederal but also a federal concept of the future community. As far as optimism is concerned, I must say that I have always been an optimist. Compared with the previous meeting, one could say that we have made some progress because some things are now clearer.

Janez Drnovsek: Chances of an Asymmetric Agreement

Serbia's and Montenegro's stand is that they favor a firm federation. Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia are still "in between" and are trying to approximate stands. This will be difficult to achieve in view of other firm positions. In relation to the previous session, I think that we have made certain progress, at least in the sense that we were somewhat more specific, and that we saw where the problems lie and who will have to opt for one side or the other. Regarding the concept proposed by Bosnia-Hercegovina, I must say that it requires further elaboration. Essentially it is nevertheless good, but we have to see whether it can be fitted into this concept of an alliance of independent republics proposed by Slovenia and Croatia. I think that this could be done. There are no essential differences. One should also say that nobody was prepared to make any concessions again. In fact, one should say that our positions remained very firm. During this talk we explicitly spoke for the first time about a combination that could be called an asymmetric agreement. We are talking about a group of republics that would be linked more firmly through a larger number of functions, on one side, and Slovenia and Croatia with a fewer number of functions on the other. The greatest chances to reach an agreement lie in this direction.

Ante Markovic: I Will Remain an Optimist Forever

I still think that the most important thing is that we are talking, that we are negotiations and trying to find an optimal solution. Looking from this point of view, I think that we made a step forward today. I must say that several concepts are being offered and I am sure that in further talks we will arrive at the best solution. Regarding the concept proposed by Bosnia- Hercegovina, I think that it is essentially good, but that it needs to be worked on more. As far as I am concerned, you know that I have always been and will remain an optimist.

Milan Kucan: Shortcomings of the Bosnian Concept

The concept presented by Bosnia-Hercegovina has not been formulated fully and therefore we could not take a clear stand on it. This is a concept that favors sovereign republics within one state. This is not in line with the Slovene Assembly's stand that an attempt should be made to create a new community, by sovereign and independent states.

Talking about a new community, one should point out that we are not talking about optimism but real interests and possibilities, and that it would be good if we were considering this issue in a rational rather than in an irrational way. Yugoslavia, the way it was and the way it was founded, virtually no longer exists. It exists only formally. Whether anything new can be created in that space, from which nobody wants or can leave, is, above all, the question of rationality and reality. Unfortunately, the peoples of Yugoslavia do not live in compact national units. They were dispersed the way are by history. Therefore, thinking about whether sovereignty belongs to the Yugoslav republics or not is in my view superfluous. The real question is the degree of that sovereignty, that is, whether the differences in understanding this sovereignty are only a result of misunderstanding, or whether this question conceals something I would call aspirations toward Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Stipe Mesic: Something Has Been Agreed On After All

We have not agreed on many things, but have agreed at least on something. The working concept is already in circulation and all participants in the talks have it. Today we agreed that Serbia and Montenegro formulate a federal concept that they would then send to all interested parties. This concept had not previously been drafted. This is in any case progress from the point of view of defining a concept.

Vasil Tupurkovski: Political Support for Federal Executive Council

We agreed to extend support to the Federal Executive Council' laws and proposals. I must say that am not all that optimistic. In any case this is progress in comparison with the previous presidency session. I hope that we will make further progress at the next meeting in Belgrade.

Draft Declaration on Organization of Relations

LD2602231691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1628 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, February 26 (TANJUG)—A draft declaration on a new organization of relations in Yugoslavia provides for the Yugoslav legislature and the republican assemblies to begin at once work on a document organizing the relations in the country "by agreement and in a peaceful, legal and democratic way."

The draft, which the constitutional commission submitted to the federal legislature for consideration on Tuesday, envisages that a further procedure be agreed on "if any republic does not accept the document on the organization of relations in Yugoslavia."

The draft provides for the republican assemblies to vow to "respect the existing Yugoslav Constitution and federal laws" until relations in Yugoslavia have been re-defined.

The assemblies of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia last week adopted decisions granting precedence to local laws over federal ones as well as decisions on dissociation from Yugoslavia.

Under the draft the peoples' rights to decide democratically about their future, as well as the sovereignty of Yugoslavia and its republics and the inviolability of the borders between the republics" should be respected until the re-organization is completed.

The draft proposes that the organs of the common state be entrusted with those functions "whose implementation is in the interest of all republics, nations, nationalities and citizens."

The draft provides for the joint organs [words indistinct] full protection of human rights [words indistinct] the rule of law and market economy.

Under the draft, the joint organs would have a duty to secure the country's [word indistinct] implementation of its international obligations, the protection of its independence and territorial integrity, and create conditions for its successful participation in European integration processes.

Markovic Requests Financial Support From Britain

LD2602224891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic today received British Minister of State in the Foreign Office Douglas Hogg. In the course of their lengthy and open talks, the FEC president and the British minister emphasized mutual interest in the intensification of political and economic relations between Yugoslavia and Great Britain. Responding to questions from Douglas Hogg, Markovic spoke in greater detail on the current political and economic situation in Yugoslavia.

He stressed that financial support from Western countries and international financial institutions were particularly necessary now for the implementation of the Yugoslav reforms.

The British minister stressed that it was in the interest of his country that Yugoslavia remain a united state community. He said it was also in the interest of Europe, and that such a Yugoslavia had greater possibility for the inclusion in the Council of Europe and the European Community, greater than any separate part of it.

Moreover, he stressed that Great Britain and the European Community attached particular importance, and gave their support to, the stabilization of the situation in Yugoslavia as soon as possible. The talks were attended by Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milivoje Maksic.

Charges Filed Against Croatia's Spegelj

LD2702175291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—The military prosecutor's office in Zagreb has filed charges against Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj and seven other persons. The charges were based on the well-grounded suspicion that they committed the criminal offense of preparing an armed insurrection in Croatia, aimed at threatening the state system established by the Yugoslav Constitution and the security of Yugoslavia.

The indictment, forwarded to TANJUG today, says that Martin Spegelj organized these preparations using his office, which is that of the Croatian Defense Minister, and that Antun Habijanec, Djuro Decak, Franjo Kovac, Vlado Sabaric, Ivan Belani, Vinko Belobrk and Josip Kovac took part in the implementation of the preparations.

The military prosecutor's office in Zagreb separately lists the charges for each of the accused. Out of a total of 10 close-typed pages of the indictment, two refer to the charges against Spegelj.

Military Court Sends Indictment

LD2702205391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—[passage omitted] Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj, a retired colonel general (born in 1927 in the village of Stari Gradec near Virovitica, of Croatian nationality) is indicted for "working on the formation of illegally-armed legislative units outside the SFRY's unified Armed Forces, comprised solely of individuals of Croatian nationality, and primarily members of the Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ] that should have evolved into a Croatian army, in cooperation with the Croatian ministry of internal affairs and with the support of HDZ members in the municipalities and regions."

To this end, the indictment states, Martin Spegelj organized arms purchases abroad in contravention of existing legislation. This is why he personally visited Hungary, from where a large shipment of automatic infantry weapons and ammunition was illegally and secretly imported. According to the indictment, Spegelj organized the reception and storage of these weapons in the Sveta Nedelja depot near Samobor, and later on its distribution.

The indictment also states that, having acquainted himself with the Federal Secretariat for National Defense report to the SFRY Presidenty on the organization of

illegal paramilitary formations, and particularly in the wake of the SFRY Presidency's order to disarm the them, Spegelj "started incorporating, through the municipal secretariats for national defense and police administration, the civilians armed in this way into the reserve militia force. Meanwhile, he ordered those charged with military duties in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] and territorial defense to cancel these tasks so they could be incorporated into the reserve militia force."

The Zagreb public prosecutor's office also charges Spegelj with the organized monitoring of JNA activities on Croatian territory, and with trying to recruit serving JNA officers to take part in an armed rebellion and struggle against JNA units. On the night of 21-22 January—it is stated in the charges—Spegelj issued an order "to surround and blockade the barracks, to prevent members of JNA units from getting out and officers from getting in the barracks."

Spegelj is also charged with issuing specific orders. Among other things, according to the charges, he ordered the accused Franjo Kovac to disarm the soldiers, in his capacity as head of the Gakovo military training grounds, and collect the arms, which he was later to distribute to Croatian confidents. On receiving an agreed signal, Kovac was ordered by Spegelj to enter the barracks in Virovitica with a group of armed persons and force the duty officer to recall the guards, so all the soldiers could be disarmed and released home. This would not apply to Croatian, Slovene or Albanian soldiers, because they were to be asked to join Kovac.

Spegelj also ordered the accused Sabaric, in his capacity as commander of the Stojan Komljenovic-Coka border outpost, to disarm the soldiers on receiving an agreed signal, then load all the weapons onto a tractor belonging to Karlo Vid, and drive it to Ivan Ragovic's courtyard in the village of Stari Gradac. [passage omitted]

Rumors of Arrest Denied

LD2702174391 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Reacting to rumors heard today that Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj has been arrested, the Defense Ministry's cabinet authorised HINA [Croatian news agency] to energetically deny this. The ministry's cabinet claims that the disinformation was released with the obvious intent of inciting the public following yesterday's charges against Spegelj and the detained presidents of Virovitica, which were filed by the Zagreb military prosecutor. Rumors about Spegelj's alleged arrest, the ministry concludes, are part of a comprehensive psychological war waged by the Yugoslav People's Army leadership against legitimate Croatian bodies and the democratically elected government. In the new situation, Minister Spegelj is regularly carrying out his duties, as he has been doing ever since the campaign against him was launched, the cabinet of the Croatian Defense Ministry stresses.

Mesic Warns Separation 'Political Suicide'

LD2702115191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2233 GMT 25 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Split, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The adoption of any kind of unilateral decisions on separation would be tantamount to political suicide given that such a move would not be supported by the international public. Therefore, it is important for Croatia to solve its problems through negotiations, so in case of a possible attack on its sovereignty the whole democratic world would side with it.

This was stated during a political panel meeting at the Faculty of Law in Split this evening by SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic. He also said that irrespective of threats being issued by some Army members and the present developments, his personal conviction is that a military coup or a civil war will not take place.

"The Army was under the patronage of the League of Communists, and when the Army was disbanded it formed its own LC-Movement for Yugoslavia to create a body that would have command over it. But the Army members are common people who are also anxious about their own existence, and who understand with difficulty that even in a new state and military system, they will find their own place either in a joint or in republican armies." [passage omitted]

List of Albanian Papers Published in Croatia

AU2802081991 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 91 p 10

[Stana Ristic report: "Papers of the Kosovo Republic Printed In Zagreb"]

[Excerpts] According to official information of the Croatian Ministry for Information, six papers in Albanian - dailies and weeklies - are registered in the republic. Moreover, Croatian Radio (previously Radio Zagreb) broadcasts news in Albanian daily. Three papers are printed on the territory of Zagreb, and the rest, presumably, in the RILINDJA printing office in Pristina. [passage omitted]

A list of papers in the Albanian language, which we have obtained from a lawyer at the Croatian Ministry for Information, also contains names of founders and editors in chief. The president of the publishing council of DARDANIA, a weekly and when needed also a daily, is none other than Ibrahim Rugova. Veton Surroi is the editor of DRITA daily and KOHA weekly. It is interesting to note that the founders of the VIKTORIA weekly are Mate Talijancic, Ksenija Talijancic, and Andjelko Mikelic, and Bajram Sefaj from Pristina is its editor. Migjen Kelmendi edits EPOKA. We have learned that the Democratic Union of Albanians, a party registered in Croatia and headed by Tome Berisha, is the official founder of DIELLI and DARDANIA. [passage omitted]

Zimmermann Allegedly Built 'Network of Traitors'

AU2802083391 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 91 p 7

[Branko Podgornik report: "Zimmermann's 'Network of Traitors'"]

[Excerpts] Another enemy of Serbia has been discovered. Monday's POLITIKA EKSPRES has found him in the person of Warren Zimmermann, United States Ambassador in Belgrade, who has, "in the last two years," according to the paper, "organized a whole network of traitors," for the sake of intelligence work in Kosovo. According to the paper, he was assisted in this by Fadil Hoxha, Veli Deva, Xhavid Nimani, Ymer Pula, Ibrahim Rugova, Zekeria Cana, and others for whom "the betrayal of Serbia and its territorial integrity has become an obsession."

"Mr. Zimmermann has made special efforts to create a complete picture of the circumstances in Kosovo and Metohija and worked out a comprehensive strategy on this for crises and unstable circumstances," the paper continues and explains that to complete the picture he needed an assessment of "the mood of citizens and their loyalty to a specific social order." Nowhere else in the world apart from Kosovo and Metohija are there people who "are prepared to betray for a little money everything they know and what can be considered a state secret," the Belgrade newspaper is astonished to discover.

Who Is in Favor of a Greater Albania

EKSPRES also reveals for its readers the information that Zimmermann has acquired. That is to say, some people "close to the separatist leadership in Kosovo and Metohija say that Mr. Zimmermann has come to the conclusion that more than 80 percent of the Albanian population are against Serbia and Yugoslavia and they want this territory to join a 'Greater Albania'.... At certain critical moments, if there were to be an armed uprising by Albanian secessionists, Western intelligence services assess that the Army and militia could not count on the support of the people, which would lead to total anarchy and lawlessness." At such a point, the "secessionist leadership" in Kosovo would ask for the issue of Kosovo and Metohija to be raised in the United Nations.

The author of the article reveals that the Kosovo opposition is planning to carry out elections in this province in parallel with the first multiparty elections in Albania on 31 March. "If the elections are carried out successfully, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo would proclaim the cultural, economic, and political unification of Kosovo and Albania," EKSPRES continues. It stresses: "The activities of the alternative movement in Kosovo have the political and financial support of the United States and Croatia." [passage omitted]

The Main Witness

Probably as the main witness to the "hostile activities" of the United States against Serbia, the newspaper cites retired General Stevan Mirkovic, who recently met the first secretary of the United States Embassy in Belgrade. "He requested the meeting," Mirkovic stresses in an article published on the same second page of the newspaper: "Among other things, he asked whether we (the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia) were a party of generals. He was possibly interested in a military coup.... I told him that the United States representatives were behaving improperly and they were interfering in our domestic affairs. He was very angry. He said, 'we are helping democratic forces,' to which I replied: You are not helping democratic forces in Croatia, you are playing the wrong card, they are Ustasha forces. The forces in Slovenia are forces of the White Guard, and you can only lose in this respect," Mirkovic says.

Mirkovic's strategic assessments are particularly interesting. He stresses that "some people in Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia want Austro-Hungary to be revived. Kucan and Tudjman should not think, however, that someone can move so easily the garrisons of the Yugoslav People's Army out of Slovenia and Croatia." [passage omitted]

Pucnik: Meet Plebiscitary Demand 'at Once'

AU2702151991 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Feb 91 p 32

[Article by DEMOS President Dr. Joze Pucnik: "Why Should One Hury With Separation"]

[Excerpts] The Slovene papers have recently carried a lot of harsh criticism of my statement in Bled. I spoke in Radovljica last Saturday on the anniversary of the founding of DEMOS about the current political position of Slovenes in Yugoslavia. I asserted that the events of the last several months have proven that the breakup of the Federation is inevitable and that it is high time Slovenia moved out of that chaos. I again expressed a feeling of anxiety, as I did at Cankar Hall last October when I said that we were being late with the independence of the Slovene Republic and that we may even have missed the most suitable moment. What I said at Bled regarding that connection was that, in my opinion, all the political parties in the legislature, and the DEMOS parties in particular, have come to the conclusion that talks about separation should be demanded as soon as possible—before June—and one should carry out what on 23 December the citizens of Slovenia asked the Slovene state leadership to do: establish the autonomous and independent Republic of Slovenia. [passage omitted]

What are the circumstances that force us to move from the luckless federation at once and as soon as possible?

The Slovene economy continues to worsen. The negative structural factors that result from the economic philosophy of the old regime still have a more or less undisturbed increasing influence. Economic measures taken by the DEMOS government so far were above all directed toward the surface sphere of economic activities, rescuing some enterprises that are most endangered, while the economic system itself is still the same as it used to be in the past. [passage omitted]

I am afraid that the prevailing assessment in DEMOS is that the only thing one should change are some outward economic conditions and then the old economic structures will suddenly be enlivened and become market-based. Therefore, according to that assessment, there is no need to change economic structures themselves; everything is all right both in the cadre and organizational aspect, we have a rather successful economy, so the reason for obvious failures in fact lies in wrong "political decisions" made by the old authorities. In my opinion, this view is incorrect. Not just the political framework and not just the administrative conditions of economics, but the very organization of the instruments of business operations in enterprises need a thorough renewal and changes. What we need is a thorough reform of the economic system and of the economy itself. [passage omitted]

The situation in the political system of the federation shows a sudden disintegration in which the danger of complete disorder and chaotic reactions on the national level and the level of general interests is growing. With the conditions of general disorder, the danger is even greater. This means the following: If we wait for several more months, the risk involved in the separation and independence of Slovenia would increase and not decrease. This is why, in my opinion, time is of such great importance. Let me only mention the stabilization of powerful new coalitions that appeared in the south of the country in the wake of the Serb and Montenegrin elections. Since then, the Army's attitude is different, more aggressive, and extremely ideological. There are more such examples.

The Slovenes are sick and tired of waiting and hesitating. Political parties, above all those in the opposition, make naive demands that "it is necessary to make a precise plan" for becoming independent. How would anybody be capable of planning such complex processes and thoroughly controlling them in such a situation? All right, this is an instrument in the political game played in the legislature. The citizens of Slovenia are really mature enough not to pay any attention to such a transparent deceit. The plebiscite has shown the high level of their political maturity and resolution concerning Slovenia's independence. The economic situation, worsening social problems, and discontent with constant delays—all this indicates that people are, above all, demanding a solution be found the situation in this confused federation. [passage omitted]

Therefore, we can tell the leadership of the Slovene state the following: Let us wake up. Let us do what the citizens asked us to do at the plebiscite. Let us do it resolutely and as soon as possible. It is best to do it at once.

SDS Appeals To Presidency for Protection

LD2802124491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—In response to the revelation by the executive committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] that the SDA favors a confederation as the future system for Yugoslavia, the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS] of Bosnia-Hercegovina today sent an appeal to SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic asking for protection.

Serbian-nationality deputies in the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as legitimate and sole representatives of the Serbian people in this republic, call on all federal institutions to safeguard the rights of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina to remain within the federal state of Yugoslavia.

As a result of advanced separatist moves the Serbs have found themselves in a position where others are trying to force them to accept changes in their status and state affiliation. The SDS therefore demands that the Serbian people's desire to live in the federal state of Yugoslavia be safeguarded by all the instruments available under the rule of law and that all federal institutions be informed about this demand.

SDA Proposes Declaration on Bosnian Sovereignty

AU2702165691 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Second Version Is Controversial, Too"]

[Text] Even if the people understood to a certain extent why the first sessions of the new multiparty legislature and the establishment of the new authorities in Bosnia-Hercegovina took place with so many labor pains, no one would be able to predict that the question of the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina would lead to total polarization between two victorious parties. The statement that was issued the day before yesterday after the session of the Council of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] whereby this party does not accept the declaration on the sovereignty and indivisibility of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was proposed by the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], will probably become a touchstone for the further development of relations on the Bosnia-Hercegovina pluralist scene.

For the leadership of the strongest party in Bosnia-Hercegovina (SDA), this move by the SDS is all the more inexplicable because it came after great "concessions" in

the talks and the new end to the proposed declaration. That is to say, after the first version of this document was presented and after the three days of discussion behind closed doors between representatives of the parties, the SDA offered the SDS a considerably changed second version of the declaration on sovereignty. It says:

Proceeding from centuries of living together; the long tradition of a legal state; and the legitimate decision of the peoples and citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina to live in a common state and determined to create a democratic state of Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian peoples and members of the other peoples and nationalities who live in it; the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina, through their representatives elected at free, democratic, and multiparty elections, adopt the Declaration of Muslims, Serbs, Croats, and Other Peoples on the State Sovereignty and Indivisibility of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

1. Democratic Bosnia-Hercegovina is the sovereign republic of the citizens of the Serb, Muslim, and Croat peoples, as well as other nationalities within the framework of the Yugoslav state community founded on the freedoms and rights of people and citizens, the rule of law, and social justice.

2. The Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina makes independent and sovereign decisions on:

—the preservation and rational utilization of its natural, acquired, and cultural resources;

—the organization of its economic, legal, and political systems and relations;

—cooperation and association with other republics on the basis of full equality and mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity in creating a future Yugoslav community.

3. The constitutional system of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is based on the guarantee and equality of all forms of ownership, on the realization and provision of freedoms, parity, national, and every other equality, and all the other freedoms and rights of people and citizens, on a multiparty political system and legislative democracy, on the rule of law, and on the preservation and improvement of nature and the human environment.

The new constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be adopted on these bases as soon as possible and in six months time at the latest.

4. Firmly decided that the Yugoslav crisis be resolved on the basis of equality in a peaceful democratic way, the citizens, peoples, and nationalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina are resolved to defend the peaceful cohabitation, sovereignty, indivisibility, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

5. This declaration comes into force when, on the basis of Point 5 of Amendment LXXI, it is adopted and ceremonially promulgated by the chambers of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina at a joint session.

We recall: The first version carried only the title of "Declaration on the State Sovereignty and Indivisibility of Bosnia-Hercegovina." It also contained Article 2 that talked about "the unalterability of the borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina," as well as Article 3 that said that "all citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina are sovereign." These articles were left out of the second version.

Undoubtedly the greatest shift regarding a more specific definition of sovereignty has been made with the proposal for Article 1 in the new version in which the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina is defined within the framework of the Yugoslav state community.

Just such a definition on the one side and nonacceptance on the other leaves many dilemmas unresolved, as well as the big question of how much each individual people cares about a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina. We should let time answer that question.

Montenegro's Position on Federal Talks

AU2702195391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Feb 91 p 15

[Slavko Vukasinovic, Dragoljub Vukovic, and Ljubomir Mudresa report: "Squeezing the Present Consciousness"]

[Excerpts] Titograd—On the third day of its session, the Assembly of Montenegro endorsed a speech given by Montenegrin Presidency President Momir Bulatovic on the current situation in the Yugoslav constitutional and state crisis and the further activities that concern future relations in Yugoslavia. With only four votes against, the deputies endorsed the stands on the further activities of Montenegro's representatives in the talks on the political future of Yugoslavia that were proposed by the republic's Presidency. The stands obligate all Montenegro's representatives in federal and republican services and institutions to contribute to a democratic peaceful, effective, and rational denouement to the Yugoslav constitutional and economic crisis. It was also stressed that Yugoslavia can exist as a federal state and equal community of all republics and all Yugoslav peoples who have decided to live together. It was also stressed that the idea of Yugoslavism is older than Yugoslavia and it cannot be undermined by a decision by one or several of the South Slav peoples that live in Yugoslavia. The message to those peoples and republics that decide in a democratic procedure on an independent life and secession from Yugoslavia is that they can only realize their will in a legally organized procedure on the basis of delineated rights and obligations, but not to the detriment of any people and the human and civil rights of their inhabitants.

The Montenegrin legislature condemns exclusivity and the unilateral imposition of stands as a method in resolving the Yugoslav crisis and supports the orientation that dialogue be continued in all possible forms with all legal, political, and state partners. Until an agreement is reached on Yugoslavia's political future, the principle of legality must be respected and federal laws must be

implemented. The federal services must be allowed to function unhindered on the whole territory of Yugoslavia. The stands mention in particular that this relates to the role of the Yugoslav People's Army and its carrying out the orders of the SFRY Presidency. It is also crucial that the federal government and the SFRY Assembly function normally in line with their constitutional powers.

The positions emphasize that as the highest level of authority, the Montenegrin legislature must provide a process and procedure in which the Montenegrin people and all inhabitants of the sovereign Montenegrin state will be able to soberly and rationally determine their long-term civil and national interests. Of particular significance is the stand that the ability of the Montenegrin people to create a government, the territorial indivisibility, integrity, and sovereignty of Montenegro, and all the civil rights of all its citizens cannot be jeopardized by a decision by one single state service. The citizens of Montenegro have the inalienable right to decide on their own destiny. [passage omitted]

Milo Djukanovic, new head of government, clearly stated the basic orientations. Even though he reiterated the situation in the republic, which has been known for a long time, he was clear regarding what the new government wants for a way out of the crisis: The realization of a developmental cycle is the foundation of a new more modern structure for the economy of Montenegro that is more suitable to natural conditions, because this is the way to open up long-term prospects for the development of the republic through a market evaluation of the resources that we have at our disposal.

Second, through the accelerated property, administrative, and organizational restructuring of the existing capacities, conditions will be created for business operations to be economical and for enterprises to maintain themselves in the conditions of an open market economy. The government will have numerous operational and urgent tasks regarding this.

According to Milo Djukanovic, the government will also radically continue the process of restructuring, which is only at the initial stage in Montenegro, emphasizing in this respect its developmental component through joint investments.

Djukanovic stressed that in its work, the government of Montenegro will contribute to developing and augmenting our republic's state structure, based on the principles of democratic socialism. Despite the uncertainty of the denouement of the Yugoslav political crisis, our government's policy will completely express the independence of the Montenegrin state.

As we also said in the League of Communists's election manifesto, we are prepared to give up part of the Montenegrin state's sovereignty only if this is to the advantage of the Yugoslav community being set up as a democratic federation in which Montenegro will be an equal member.

Regarding the Federal Executive Council, Djukanovic added, Montenegro's government will insist that all available systemic mechanisms be activated to immediately meet all the established obligations to the republic. Moreover, we will energetically demand that the obviously unsuccessful macro-economic policy, which has led to paralysis in the economic life of virtually the entire country, be changed. In parallel with this package of republican regulations, we will endeavor to preempt the negative effects of the unsuccessful and inconsistently implemented macro-economic policy. If the current Federal Executive Council is unable to contribute to removing the blockage in the functioning of the federation and if it has no power to correct its own certainly unsuccessful policy, Montenegro's government will raise the question of confidence in the federal prime minister and his cabinet.

Macedonia Urges Support for Sovereign States

LD2702212891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1904 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Skopje, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—In the talks on the future of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Macedonia will urge Yugoslavia as a community of sovereign states, and not a community of sovereign republics, as it is today.

Macedonia's new stand was today formulated by the constitutional commission of the republican legislature which had been entrusted with working out the republic's platform in the inter-republican talks on the future of Yugoslavia.

According to this formulation, Macedonia lists the following as the minimum conditions necessary for the preservation of the Yugoslav community—a common system of tariffs, a common market, a common monetary system and the financing of common bodies on a quota principle.

The new Macedonian platform incorporates also changes in the fields of human rights, national defence and international relations.

Representatives of the VRMO-DPMNE party, which won the majority in the republican legislative elections, insist [words indistinct] Constitutional Commission today on the adoption of its proposal that a resolution be passed on Macedonia's dissociation from Yugoslavia.

(The Yugoslav republics of) Slovenia and Croatia took decisions on dissociation last week.

In a statement released today, the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia in Macedonia assesses the initiative for Macedonia's dissociation from Yugoslavia as 'profoundly anti-Macedonian and anti-Yugoslav'.

The republic's League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia maintains that the Macedonian people alone have the right to have a say on the character of the Yugoslav community in a referendum.

In its session yesterday evening, the Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia also condemned the initiative for Macedonia's dissociation.

A warning was heard at the session that 'any attempt at a forcible and illegitimate separation of any republic from the federation, without a prior settling of problems, will lead directly to civil war'.

Trade Official Comments on Inflation Rate

LD2702202491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1611 GMT 27 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav inflation in the January 21-February 7 period was 8.5 percent, which "is not surprising, nor is it a sign that inflation is not under control," Deputy Federal Trade Secretary Branko Maricic has told TANJUG.

Maricic said that the February inflation rate is expected to exceed the 5.6-percent January rate, but that in March it will most probably drop even below the January figure.

Such forecasts, he explained, are based on the fact that the "situation regarding inflation is much better than last year."

The 21.3-percent inflation rate was transferred into 1991 from the previous year, while the transfer from 1989 amounted 276.9 percent, Maricic recalled, adding that in January 1990 inflation was 41.5 percent.

He warned that the political situation and the introduction of republican measures which prevent the free flow of goods, could infulence inflation.

The Yugoslav "public believes that inflation is exclusively the concern of the federal government," but "it forgets that the republican and provincial organs also have much influence."

Yutel Says Serbia Prohibiting Regular Broadcasts

LD2702010191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2013 GMT 26 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade February 26 (TANJUG)—The leadership of Yutel, the Yugoslav television station initiated by the Federal government, today accused the Serbian authorities that they are "not ready to permit the existence of any media which does not suit them."

Yutel representatives told a press conference today that "unknown representatives of the Serbian republican authorities" last night put out of action a Yutel transmitter which enabled the independent television station Studio B to broadcast the Yutel program for the entire territory of Serbia as [word indistinct] Thursday.

The authorities of Serbia and Croatia, the Yutel representatives told the press, "reject every possibility of regular broadcasts of the Yugoslav channel in their territories."

The Federal government said it had formed Yutel out of a wish to provide all Yugoslav citizens with objective information, reporting unaffected by the politics of the republican leaderships. Bosnia-Hercegovina is the only republic which agreed to broadcast the Yutel program.

The Liberal Party of Serbia today proposed to opposition parties to recall their deputies from the Serbian Assembly unless one television channel, monitored in the entire territory of the Republic of Serbia, becomes open to all parties.

The opposition parties of Serbia today again said they would organize a protest outside the building of Television Belgrade on March 9th, because this TV station was "giving the public biased information" and was under the wing of the ruling Socialist Party.

Vice President of the Liberal Democratic Party of Slovenia Mile Setinc today accused the local authorities of the Slovenian town of Kranj that they had "misused Radio Kranj for party goals" when they forced this radio station to accept this party's candidate as its manager.

Setinc said that the "local authorities are already training that which authorities at the national level will shape in the systems legislature."

The case of Radio Kranj, Setinc said, is a "political aggression on the [word indistinct] of the public media" and a "warning to the Slovenian public that a multiparty system, in itself, does not protect democracy."